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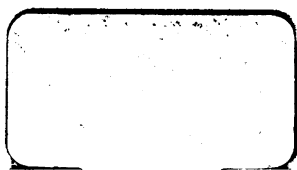
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SOME PASSAGES IN THE
EARLY HISTORY
OF
CLASSICAL LEARNING IN IRELAND.

*An Address delivered at the Inaugural Meeting
of the Trinity College Classical Society,*

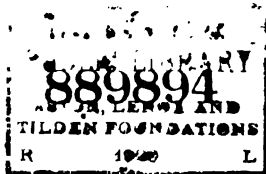
Revised, with Notes and an Appendix,

BY
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PREFACE.

THE Address which is printed in this volume was delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Trinity College Classical Society, held in the month of November, 1907. This Society is not as yet in a position to follow the example of the older Historical and Philosophical by printing the proceedings at its opening meetings. I have undertaken to publish this Address on behalf of the Society, with the understanding that should any profit be realized, it shall be applied in aid of the foundation of a classical library for the use of members.

It was necessary to omit a good deal of what I have here printed in order to bring the delivery of the Address within reasonable limits. I have revised what I had then written, adding notes, and printing in an Appendix some extracts from writers whose works are not easily obtainable.

Such information as is to be found in these pages on the subject of classical learning in the

early monastic schools of Ireland was collected from the works to which I have referred ; all of which are accessible to the ordinary reader. This part of the Address was intended as introductory to a subject of inquiry to which I had been directed in the course of holiday rambles, during many years, in the by-ways of Elizabethan literature. In this way I had come to learn many things which the writers of Histories and Treatises had failed to teach me, particularly as regards the conditions of life and the degree of education and literary culture which existed up to the commencement of Elizabeth's reign among the upper classes in the part of Ireland which lay outside the boundaries of the English Pale.

Some years ago I added to a Shakespearian library a copy of the edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* which was published in 1586. I was led to an examination of Holinshed's ponderous tomes by the knowledge that they had furnished Shakespeare with the plots of some of his greatest works ; and I was naturally attracted by the description of Elizabethan Ireland contributed by Richard Stanyhurst. Here I found much interesting information in regard to the schools within the English Pale, and the classical learning which was to be found in that

part of Ireland before the foundation of Trinity College.

From the same writer I learned also that among the "meer Irish," without the Pale, Latin was not only taught in schools, but generally spoken "like a vulgar tongue." Following up a subject that was new, to me at all events, I learned from other contemporary writers that the Irish outside the Pale were at that time a bilingual people ; that the languages taught in the native schools were Irish and Latin ; that to be a reader of Latin was regarded as the ordinary accomplishment of a gentleman ; and that the Latin language was commonly spoken in the huts of the peasants and the castles of the chieftains. It also became apparent that this knowledge and use of Latin must be attributed to an origin earlier in date than the Revival of Learning, and that it was a survival of the classical learning cultivated in the ancient monastic schools of Ireland.

The period of time to which attention is directed in this Address, extending beyond the advent of Sir Henry Sidney in 1565, is included within the range of Modern History. And yet there was to be found during that period, within the narrow limits of this island, and side by side

with the Feudal organization of the Pale, a state of society based on the Tribal system, and retaining many characteristics the origin of which is of extreme antiquity. The Tribal system of jurisprudence, which was not finally abolished until the beginning of the seventeenth century, had no affinity either with Roman Law or with the customs in which the Feudal system had its origin. This system of jurisprudence supplied to Sir Henry Maine the foundation of his *Early History of Institutions*. The Bardic literature cultivated in the native schools, and patronised by the chieftains, was also of native growth, and, so far as I am aware, retained its original character, substantially uninfluenced by the study of the ancient classics. This feature of the age is not in danger of being overlooked or neglected ; but sufficient attention has not been directed to another feature of this age, not, indeed, of native growth, but traceable to the early years of the Christian era — the permanence in Celtic Ireland of the influence of the early monastic schools, and of the classical learning for which they were famous throughout Western Europe.

It is not surprising that this bygone state of society should have failed to attract the attention of writers who were concerned rather with

military operations and political movements, and who lived in an age which cared little for archæological investigation. The incessant wars by which this part of Ireland was devastated during many years of the reign of Elizabeth, the subsequent abolition of the Tribal system, and the ensuing convulsions of the seventeenth century, swept away all visible traces of a state of society which presented many features of special interest. In the age in which we live, when archæological studies and investigations are engaging the attention of students in every part of the world, it seemed worth while to bring the result of my reading before the recently formed Trinity College Classical Society. What I have written is not intended as a serious contribution to the investigation of this period of our history. The facts which I have brought together lie near the surface; but a superficial outcrop, of no particular value in itself, may be useful as evidence of a rich mine beneath the surface, ready to repay the labour of the patient worker.

A monograph on the early history of classical learning in Ireland would be a fitting outcome of the foundation of a Classical Society associated with Trinity College. During the long years in which the study of the history, language, and

antiquities of Ireland was neglected elsewhere, Trinity College sent forth into the world of letters many earnest workers in this field. Ussher (whose name stands second on our roll of students), Bedell, Ware, Harris (the editor of Ware), Leland, Ledwich, Moore, Monck Mason, Graves, Ferguson, Reeves, Todd, Richey, Stokes, Olden, and Atkinson are writers who in different degrees, and in various branches of research, have earned the gratitude of Irish students. These writers, with the exception of Bedell, were graduates of the University of Dublin; and some of the most eminent had a closer connexion with it. Ussher was a Fellow and Professor, and afterwards Vice-Chancellor; Ware represented the University in Parliament; Bedell was Provost, and Leland, Todd, and Graves were Fellows of Trinity College. Stokes was one of our Professors. It would be invidious to select names of living writers. I will only say that the work which is being done at the present day by Irish scholars who have received their education in Trinity College affords full assurance that the ancient traditions of the University will be worthily maintained in the future.

D. H. MADDEN.

May 25th, 1908.

AN ADDRESS.

I OUGHT, I think, to explain how it is that I am about to address the inaugural meeting of the Classical Society of Trinity College. I had no hesitation in accepting the office which the Society desired me to fill; for I regard it as a duty as well as a privilege to make use of whatever position or influence I may have attained in the University in promoting the cause of classical scholarship. I am one of those who believe that the study of the literature of the older civilizations of Greece and of Rome, combined with the closely-allied subjects of philosophy, ancient and modern, affords to those who are in a position to make it a reality the highest form of mental training; and to those who prosecute these studies in after-life they are an abiding source of intellectual enjoyment. Apart from the feelings of gratitude and affection which link us to the classical studies of our youth, there are practical reasons why an association like that which I am addressing should commend itself

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to all who desire that the standard of liberal education should be maintained. It must, I think, be recognized that, under the conditions of modern life, a classical training, which, to be worth having, involves years of study, *non cuius homini contingit*, and that an education which may fairly be regarded as liberal, and of a University type, is now possible, of which the study of the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome forms no part. The student who has mastered his Shakespeare, Milton, Berkeley, Gibbon, and Swift, has made *insignes in literis humanioribus progressus*, although to him Sophocles, Homer, Plato, Thucydides, and Aristophanes may be but names. The demands of modern science upon the time of the student are exacting; and there is a real danger that by idle acquiescence in the current of thought, or through a false estimate of utility, what we regard as the highest culture and the most valuable mental training may be lost to many. To aid in safeguarding this, their birthright, for students of the Humanities is the object of the founders of this Society.

I had, I confess, some difficulty when I was asked by your committee to deliver the inaugural address at the first meeting of the Society. The discourses at our annual opening



meetings ought, in my opinion, to be delivered by scholars of recognized eminence, who might take the opportunity of dealing with subjects of special research. These discourses would be of permanent value, and might, in course of time, form collections which would take their place side by side with the cherished volumes of *Kottabos* and the graver *Hermathena*.

I need hardly say that it is beyond my power to offer you any such contribution. But while I was pondering over the suggestion of your committee, it occurred to me that studies undertaken for a different purpose had brought me in contact with a chapter in the early history of scholarship in Ireland, by which I had been deeply interested, and which might be usefully suggested to the members of our Society as a subject of research. By the early history of Irish scholarship I mean that which precedes the foundation of Trinity College in 1591; and the chapter to which I refer immediately precedes that which has been so well written by Dr. Mahaffy in his *Epoch in Irish History*. It relates to the state of learning in Ireland in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, and the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, James Stanyhurst, with some aid from Oxford, endeavoured to re-introduce classical studies

into Ireland by the establishment of diocesan grammar schools and the foundation of a University in Dublin. This was in 1565, and Trinity College, as we know, was not founded until 1591. Meanwhile, well-nigh a generation had passed away, and one of the saddest of the lost opportunities in the history of our country has to be recorded.

I say, to re-introduce classical studies into Ireland, for a yet earlier chapter in the history of classical scholarship still awaits its historian. This deeply interesting chapter is not my immediate subject; but it could not be passed by without notice in an address dealing with the early history of scholarship in Ireland. Moreover, I believe that an appreciation of the depth and permanence of the impression made upon the habits and intellect of the Scotie people by centuries of classical culture is necessary if we would understand a subject which has not obtained the attention which it deserves—the knowledge of the Latin language and literature which prevailed in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth in one of the two countries into which Ireland was sharply divided.

Until recent years the attention of the student of history was not directed to the monastic schools of Ireland as academies of secular

learning, attracting thousands of students, not only from England, but from continental countries, and entitling Ireland to be styled the University of Western Europe, as Athens was of Rome. The association of this part of our history with ecclesiastical history and hagiology has had the effect of diverting the minds of students of classical literature from a field of research well worthy of their attention.

To students of Bede, Ussher, and Ware this field of inquiry was well known. Venerable Bede, writing in the eighth century, bears testimony to the generosity with which Irish professors in the seventh century received pupils, and furnished them with books and teaching. In his *Antiquitates Hiberniae*, Sir James Ware writes: "Fuisse olim in Hiberniâ scholas insigniores, sive, ut nunc appellamus, Academias, ad quas Hiberni et Britones, ac demum Galli et Saxones, tanquam ad bonarum literarum Emporia confluerunt, ex antiquis scriptoribus, fide dignis, liquido constat."

In 1886 *Ireland and the Celtic Church* was published by our Professor Stokes. This was followed in 1890 by Archbishop Healy's *Hibernia, Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*. These works present to the reader, in an attractive form, a great deal of information as to the ancient

academies of Ireland. Although Dr. Douglas Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland* is mainly conversant with literature of native origin, it contains evidence of careful research into the classical studies of the monastic schools.

Notwithstanding all that has been written, the desire expressed by Ware, that the course of studies in those schools should be investigated, has not yet been fully realized. By the untimely death of Professor George Stokes we have lost a painstaking investigator and attractive writer, whose paper on "The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland between A.D. 500 and 900," printed in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, brought into prominence a feature of the studies in our ancient schools upon which additional light has been thrown by Professor Sandys, in the volume of his recently published *History of Classical Scholarship*, in which Professor Stokes's paper is referred to:—"While the accurate knowledge of Latin was declining in Gaul, even Greek was not unknown in Ireland. . . . The knowledge of Greek, which had almost vanished in the west, was so widely diffused in the schools of Ireland, that if anyone knew Greek it was assumed that he must have come from that country. The Irish passion for travel led to the light of

learning which had lingered in the remotest island of the west being transmitted anew to the lands of the south." The study of Greek in those schools disposes of the idea that they were mere ecclesiastical seminaries, in which Latin was studied, as the language of the Church.

Professor Bury, in an interesting passage in his *Life of St. Patrick*, explains how in the west it was "a matter of course, and not, at first, the result of a deliberate policy, that the Latin language and literature should accompany the Gospel." Further on he writes: "The schools of learning, for which the Scots became famous a few generations after his death—learning which contrasts with his own illiterateness—owe their rise to the contact with Roman ideas and the acquaintance with Roman literature which his labours, more than anything else, lifted within the horizon of Ireland. It was not only the religion, but also the language which was attached to it, that inaugurated a new period of culture for the island, and opened a wider outlook on the universe." But the classical culture of the Scotie monastic schools soon outgrew the requirements of an ecclesiastical seminary. It included an acquaintance with Greek, which, until the revival of learning,

was unknown in the sister island, and it left, as we shall see, a permanent impression on the culture of the higher classes in Celtic Ireland.

Professor Sandys agrees with Bishop Reeves and Miss Stokes in looking to continental rather than to Irish sources of information as to the course of study in these seats of learning. "As regards the literature of ancient Ireland and its remains, it has been observed by Dr. Reeves, that in this country we have to deplore the merciless rule of barbarism, which swept away all domestic evidences of advanced learning, leaving scarcely anything on record at home but legendary lore, and has compelled us to draw from foreign depositories the materials on which to rest the proof that Ireland was really entitled to that literary eminence which national feeling lays claim to. Our knowledge of the crowds of Irish teachers and scribes who migrated to the Continent, and became founders of many monasteries abroad, is derived from foreign chronicles, and their testimony is borne out by the evidence of the numerous Irish MSS. and other relics of the eighth to the tenth century, occurring in libraries throughout Europe."*

The schools founded by Irish scholars on

* *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Margaret Stokes.

the Continent were not overwhelmed by a cataclysm like that which swept away from Ireland even the remembrance of its ancient seats of learning. A similar catastrophe overwhelmed the famous monastic school of Iona, which in the sixth century was "distinguished," writes Gibbon,* "by a *classic* library which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy." Adamnan's life of its founder, edited by Bishop Reeves, is deeply interesting, but it affords no insight into the literary and educational work carried on in this famous school.

Professor Sandys' work suggests that some additional information as to the course of instruction in the Irish Schools may be derived from foreign sources. At Bobbio, for example, "the monastery founded by the Irish monk [Columban] became a home of learning in northern Italy. In course of time its library received gifts of MSS. of the fourth and fifth centuries, originally transcribed for men of letters in Rome, and others of later date, presented by wandering countrymen of the founder, such as Dungal, the Irish monk who presided over the school at Pavia in 823. The first catalogue, which contained 666 MSS., including Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan,

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xxxvii.

Persius, Martial, Juvenal, and Claudian, with Cicero, Seneca, and the elder Pliny, was drawn up in the tenth century The Monastery of St. Gallen has proved no less important than that of Bobbio as a treasure-house of Latin as well as Irish literature." To the Irish monks who founded Bobbio and St. Gallen he attributes a large share in "the preservation of some of the most important remains of Latin literature."

No less remarkable was the interest in Greek literature, of which Professor Sandys' researches supply important evidence. Some of the instances mentioned by him prove that this branch of learning was cultivated in Ireland so late as the ninth century—the age of the famous Johannes Scotus Erigena, whose name is, being freely interpreted, John the native-born Irishman. A learned Irishman, at the Court of Charles the Great, was asked to explain the double eclipse of 810, and replied in a letter proving his familiarity with Greek and Latin poets, and with Virgil in particular. Another Irish monk, Dicuil, whose Latin treatise on astronomy, written in the ninth century, has recently been printed in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, "gives," writes Professor Sandys, "an impression of very wide attainments by naming the following

Greek authors." He names fourteen, including Herodotus, Homer, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

I know that there are among those who listen to me some who are better qualified than I am to speak of this part of our history. My object in referring to it is twofold. I desire to suggest to the members of this Society a field of research which may well enlist the energies and excite the enthusiasm of an Irish student of the Classics. But I am more especially desirous of calling your attention to its bearing upon the condition of classical learning existing in the middle of the sixteenth century in the part of Ireland which lay outside the English Pale—which, with a full knowledge of the ethnological inadequacy of the term, I will call by the convenient name of Celtic Ireland.

Although many centuries are interposed between the classical culture of the early monastic schools and the period with which I am immediately concerned, a real connexion will, I believe, be found to exist between them.

The student who seeks to acquire a knowledge of the social life of Elizabethan England will find no difficulty in attaining his object. From plays, ballads, satires, pamphlets, jest-books, and books of sport, he will derive even a livelier image of social life than from the elaborate descriptions

of contemporary England contained in books such as Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses* and Harrison's *Description of England*. But if he should happen to be an Irishman, impelled by a kindly desire to acquire some knowledge of the everyday life of his own country, he will find himself at a "cold fault."

"All the native annalists," Mr. Bagwell writes in the preface to his valuable *Ireland under the Tudors*, "are jejune to an exasperating degree. Genealogy seems to have been the really important thing with them; and they throw exceedingly little light on the condition of the people. We are forced, therefore, to rely on the accounts of the prejudiced, and nearly always ill-informed, English travellers and officials."

Were these writers ever so trustworthy, they could give us no assistance in realizing the general condition of Ireland at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The earliest did not visit Ireland until it had been wasted, and reduced to the condition of barbarism which they describe, as the consequence of many years of incessant warfare; nor do they distinguish between the wretched kerns and peasants and the wealthier classes, amongst whom, if anywhere, traces of classical learning would be found.

Spenser first saw Ireland in 1580, and his *View*

of the Present State of Ireland was written in 1596. It is in the main a vindication of the policy of his friend and patron Arthur, Lord Grey, the hero of the fifth book of the *Faerie Queen*—*The Legend of Artegall or of Justice*—and the champion of the “Lady which Irena hight.”

Fynes Moryson’s first visit to Ireland was in 1600, when he served in the war with Tyrone. His *Itinerary* was not printed until 1617. He is described by Mr. Sidney Lee as a sober and truthful writer ; and we may accept his testimony as regards the misery and nakedness which he witnessed after the wars, so far as he writes of his personal experience.

Barnaby Rich’s *New Description of Ireland* was published in 1610 ; and few of the writers of the age carry our information further back than the year 1600. Indeed, I cannot find that any of the writers of English books, who are usually referred to as authorities regarding the condition of the Ireland of Elizabeth, had any acquaintance with the country during the earlier years of her reign.

Better things might have been expected of John Hooker, described as “*alias* Vowell,” according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a learned antiquary, and uncle of Judicious Richard Hooker, whose noble style of

English prose, chosen by Ruskin as his model, was certainly not derived from a study of his uncle's works. Hooker came to Ireland as solicitor for Sir Peter Carew, whose biographer he became, probably at some time prior to 1568, for in that year he was elected burgess for Athenry.

The business which brought him to Ireland was the recovery for his client of extensive estates to which he laid claim, situated principally in Munster. This province, which was disturbed by local warfare when Sidney became Lord Deputy, had become, he tells us, in the year 1571, so peaceable that "euerie man with a white sticke onelie in his hands, and with great treasures, might, and did, trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew to be true), and the white sheepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or preieng."

When visiting Munster on the business of his patron, he was brought into close contact with Irish lords. Carew, "finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet and the people well-disposed, he sent first his agent, the writer hereof, to Corke, where and before whom there came MacArtie Riogh, Corman Mac Teege, Barrie Og, the Omalions, the Odriscols, the

Odallies, and sundry others," who met Carew's proposals in a reasonable spirit.

With these exceptional opportunities Hooker could have told us much of the manners, education, customs, and mode of life of the Irish chieftains with whom he was brought into contact. He was the author of the continuation of the History of Ireland from 1577 to 1586, printed in the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The only part of Hooker's work which is of value is his report of certain proceedings in the Parliament of 1568, of which James Stanyhurst, "a very grave, wise, and learned man," was Speaker. He reports at somewhat disproportionate length the speech of "a certaine English gentleman (the writer hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh."* The subject was, "The granting of

*The sequel of this speech is worth noting. "The time and daie was so far spent above the ordinarie houre, being well neere two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the Speaker and the Court rose up and departed. Howbeit, such was the present murmurings and threatenings breathed out that the said gentleman, for his safetie, was by some of the best of that assemblie conducted to the house of Sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then laie and resided." The next day the opposition did, "in most disorderlie manner, inveigh against the said gentleman . . . being more like to a bearebaiting of lose persons than an assemblie of wise and grave men in

an impost of wine," and he contrived to introduce into his speech allusions to Moses, Camillus, Scipio, Socrates, Themistocles, Miltiades, "and others." But in no part of his *Chronicles*, which were carried down to 1586, does he give evidence of the slightest interest in the educational policy of Sidney and Stanyhurst, nor does he discriminate between the higher and the lower classes of "the Irishrie and savage people." Having exhausted in their denunciation a copious vocabulary, largely drawn from writers of the Old Testament, he adds:—"But concerning the inhabitants in the English Pale, and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is dailie seen."

Even as regards the English Pale, we look in vain to the treatises of the soldiers and politicians to whom I have referred, for information as to the condition of education and of classical scholarship—questions which do not seem to have occupied their attention.

Parlement." The result was that the said gentleman, who represented Exeter in the English House of Commons, in the Parliament of 1571, at the request of the Speaker, procured and bestowed on the Irish House of Commons an extremely valuable historical document, printed at length in *Holinshed*, entitled, *The order and usage how to keep a Parliament in England in these daies, collected by John Vowell, alias Hooker, and the like used in his Maiesties realme of Ireland.*

Fortunately the services of a learned classical scholar, a member of a well-known Anglo-Irish family resident for some generations in the Pale, were enlisted by the promoter of an important literary venture.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* are known to Shakespearean scholars as the source from which Shakespeare derived the plots of his Histories and of some of his greatest plays. It was part of the design of Ralph Holinshed, a man of large ideas, to prefix to the annals of each division of what is now the United Kingdom, treatises descriptive of its leading characteristics and social condition. Harrison's *Description of England* has been reprinted by the New Shakespeare Society, and thus rendered accessible to the student.

The description of Ireland was entrusted to Richard Stanyhurst. His father, James Stanyhurst, was Recorder of Dublin, and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He was a warm supporter of the educational policy of Sir Henry Sidney, of which I shall have something to say later on. His son Richard, born in 1547, was educated in the school founded in Kilkenny by Pierce, Earl of Ormonde. From Kilkenny Stanyhurst proceeded to Oxford, where he was associated with a

literary group of whom Hallam writes that "an injudicious endeavour to substitute the Latin metres for those congenial to our language met with no more success than it deserved; unless it may be deemed success that Sidney, and even Spenser, were for a moment seduced into approbation of it."

One of this group of classical scholars was Gabriel Harvey, the correspondent of Spenser, —the *Hobbinol* of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*—to whose admiration of Shakespeare's early efforts, as the *Johannes factotum* of a company of players, we owe one of our first glimpses of the struggling playwright. Stanyhurst's unfortunate version of *The first foure bookes of Virgil, his Æneis intoo English Heroicall Verse*, has crowned this school with not undeserved ridicule. Stanyhurst's literary position ought not to be determined by this unsuccessful experiment. His scholarship, though pedantic, was exact; and it is to his interest in classical literature that we owe such insight as we have been able to obtain into the state of learning in the early years of Elizabeth's reign—a subject in regard to which he may be accepted as a trustworthy guide.

His *Description of Ireland* appeared in the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, published

in 1577. It is full of interest, and there is no part of it more attractive than his description of the old school in "Kilkenny, the best uplandish towne, or (as they term it) the properest drie towne in Ireland," the famous foundation which became in time the school of Swift, of Berkeley, of Congreve, and of many eminent men of lesser fame.

"In the west end of the churchyard of late haue beene founded a grammar schoole by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler, erle of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the Countesse of Ormond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald, sister to Gerald fitz Gerald, the earle of Kildare,* that last was. Out of which schoole have sprouted such proper impes, through the painfull diligence and the labour-some industrie of a famous lettered man, M. Peter White (sometime fellow of Oriall College, in Oxford, and schoolemaster in Kilkennie) as generallie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especiallie the southerne parts of that Iland are greatlie thereby furthered. This gentleman's method in training up youth was

* Described by Campion in the part of his *Historie* in which he follows the relation of wise and indifferent persons, as "a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a Realme, had not her stomacke over-rul'd her selfe."

rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholars veine. If he found him free, he would bridle him like a wise Isocrates from his booke ; if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward ; if he understood that he was the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards ; finalie, by interlasing studie with recreation, sorrow with mirth, paine with pleasure, sowernesse with sweetnesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good faith I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar schoole so good, in England I am well assured no better. And because it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to haue beene one of his crue, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch my abilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good will in remembering his paines. And, certes, I acknowledge myself as much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the wals of that famous schoole."

Many of these venerated stones have escaped the ravages of envious and calumniating time, for at the west end of the churchyard there is still standing a building, in which a great part of the old school is incorporated. The dormi-

tory is now the diocesan library, and in it I was shown a well-worn copy of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, containing Stanyhurst's description of the school, which may, for aught I know, have been presented to his old master by a grateful pupil.

Warm as was Stanyhurst's praise of his own school, he is far from suggesting that it was the only one in Ireland which attained the same educational standard. He does not profess in his *Description* to enumerate the schools and schoolmasters of his day. He gives an elaborate list of "the names and surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote." Of these writers ten are described as schoolmasters; and it may fairly be assumed that there were other teachers, in addition to those who had claims to be included in a list of authors. Although the teaching in these schools was not Stanyhurst's immediate subject, there is some evidence that it was of high order. Of the author-schoolmasters whose Universities are noted, four were graduates of Oxford, and one of Cambridge. Of the entire number of Irish authors, twenty-five are described as of Oxford, and five of Cambridge.

One of these schoolmasters he places on the same level as Peter White of Kilkenny. "Patricke

Cusacke, a gentleman borne, and a scholer of Oxford, sometime Schoolemaister in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart to him, gaue great light to his countrie; he imploied his studies rather in the instructing of scholers than in the penning of books; he florished in the year one thousand five hundred threescore and six, and wrote in Latin *Diuersa Epigrammata.*"

"Shagens[or Stagens], fellow of Balioll College in Oxford," was master of a school at Ratough (Ratoath), which must have been one of repute, for in the catalogue of learned men we find "Plunket, baron of Dunsanie, scholer in Ratough to M. Staghens, after sent by Sir Christopher Barnewall, knight, his friendlie father-in-law, to the universitie of Oxford. Where how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presentlie perceive, so hereafter when his workes shall take the aire, that now, by reason of bashfull modestie or modest bashfulnessse are wrongfullie imprisoned, and in manner stiepled in shadowed couches, I doubt not but by his fame and renowne in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and valure in writing." It was to this Lord Dunsany, his brother-in-law, that Stanyhurst addressed the Latin treatise to which I shall presently refer.

Here and there we find traces of scholarship in various parts of the Pale, and larger towns. Having mentioned one Peter Walsh, "a proper youth, and one that would have beene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life," he writes : "There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname who writeth a verie proper Latine verse." Waterford seems to have been specially favoured. It was the birthplace of White ; and "Fagan, a batchellor of art in Oxford, and a schoolemaster in Waterford," is noted, and also "one Wise in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English."

Thus it appears that in the matter of classical scholarship, as in other respects, the Ireland of the Pale presented a feeble reflection of contemporary England, with indeed important reservations. For from its social life we must exclude the sports and pastimes which gave reality to the now hackneyed phrase, "Merrie England." The sense of security and the increased wealth, which led in England to a marvellous development of domestic architecture, were also absent ; and in its academic system the "studious Universities" found no part. The grammar schools, however, seem to have been founded on the English model ; and those of the Anglo-Irish who could afford the expense completed

their education at Oxford or Cambridge, more frequently at the former University.

But when we pass into Celtic Ireland, we find ourselves in a world as widely different as if the Pale were a barrier of oceans and of centuries ; and the difference is in no particular more marked than in relation to the study of the classics. And here the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information from contemporary writers is even greater than in regard to the English Pale. It would be easier, with the aid of Professor O'Curry and Dr. Joyce, to form a mental picture of the manners and customs of Irish chieftains in the early centuries of the Christian era, than to arrive at a clear conception of the education, culture, habits, and modes of life of the upper classes in Celtic Ireland when Elizabeth came to the throne. To the English soldiers and politicians whose treatises I have mentioned, this was an unknown world ; and they were content to describe the "meer Irish" and "degenerate English" as utter barbarians, without attempting to discriminate between classes. And yet even in their writings certain facts are discernible which might well have given them pause. The Irish chieftain, and those of his order, were distinguished from their neighbours within the Pale by two characteristics.

The chieftain took pride in being a patron of literature and art; and he had somehow learned not only to read and write, but to speak, the Latin language.

I confess that I am unable to express an opinion as to the quality of the native bardic literature patronised by the chieftains; but I am prepared to accept the testimony of Spenser, who can hardly be regarded as a witness prejudiced in favour of the bards, his short method with whom is well known to readers of his *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Eudoxus asks: "Have they any art in their compositions? or be they any thing wittie or well savoured, as poemes should be?" To which Spenser replies, in the person of Irenæus: "Yea, truly, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry: yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowres of their own naturall device, which gave grace and comlinesse unto them."

That it was the pride of the chieftain to be regarded as a patron of literature and of music is evident from many of the obituary notices copied from older annals by the "Four Masters" in 1634. And the English writers note commonly

the bard, the senachie or historian, and the harper, as indispensable parts of the chieftain's retinue. The Household of the Irish Chief, as it is termed by Sir Henry Maine (*Early History of Institutions*), contained a remarkable literary and artistic, as well as a professional, element. Camden (I quote from an English translation of his *Britannia*, the first edition of which was published in 1586), after a very inadequate reference to the Brehon, adds: "These great men have likewise their particular historians to chronicle the famous actions of their lives. Physitians, too, and Poets, whom they call *Bards* and Harpers, who have all of them their several estates and possessions allowed them." One John Derricke, who served in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney, published in 1581 a book entitled *An Image of Ireland*. In a curious woodcut he depicts, seated at dinner, the chief of a sept sprung from "Macke Swine, a barbarous offspring come from that nation, which mai bee perceived by their hoggishé fashion." The draftsman depicts a scene of disgusting barbarism. And yet the prominent features in the engraving are the bard reciting poetry, and the harper playing on a harp, with the legend—

Both Barde and Harper is preparte, which by their cunning art,
Doe strike and sheare up all the gestes, with comfort at the hart.

The lady Macke Swine, I may add, is attired with a propriety which would have satisfied even the wandering Bohemian Baron, whose interesting experience, as narrated to another writer, Fynes Moryson, some have rashly accepted as representing the normal mode of life among the magnates of Celtic Ireland.

Such knowledge as is attainable of the literary tastes and surroundings of the upper classes in Celtic Ireland may furnish an answer to a question which exercised the minds of many writers, and notably of Spenser. What was the strange fascination which, in the centuries following the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, led the invaders—members of noble Norman families—contrary to all precedent, to adopt the customs, manners, and even the language of those whom they were supposed to have conquered? "Is it possible," asks Eudoxus, "that an Englishman, brought up in such sweet civility as England affords, should find such liking in that barbarous rudenes that he could forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation?"* The "sweet civility" in which Spenser was nurtured was the newer civilization, the outcome of the revival of learning. Even in his time it had not penetrated beyond academic and courtly circles.

* Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

The household of a sixteenth-century English county magnate—*Coram, Custalorum* and *Ratolorum* too—rich in “land and beefs”—and the conversation at his table are well known to us. They are somehow lacking even in the degree of culture suggested by the presence of the bard and harper at the feast of Macke Swine. Music and poetry were, indeed, represented by old Master Silence; but I doubt that Spenser would have said of his snatches of song that they “savoured of sweet wit and good invention.”

In order to solve the riddle propounded by Spenser, we must endeavour to realize the degree of culture and civility which prevailed in the England of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. In the dark ages which preceded the dawn of the new civilization, nothing worthy of the name of literature had been written in the vulgar tongue, which was still in course of formation; and the knowledge of the older literatures did not extend to the classes from which the invaders of Ireland were taken. The Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Saxon invader may have discerned in the household and surroundings of the Irish chieftain, in the recitation and music at his table, and in his patronage of literature—classical as well as bardic—a certain “sweet civility,” which was

lacking at home, and which reconciled him to the differences in garb, manners, and customs, which are commonly noted by English writers as evidences of "barbarous rudeness."

It is, however, with the condition of classical learning among the upper classes in Celtic Ireland that we are immediately concerned. It is well known that the chieftains used the Latin language in their communications with the authorities of the Pale. Latin letters from Shane O'Neill to the Earl of Essex in 1560, to Charles IX, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine are printed in the Appendix to the National Manuscripts of Ireland. It was also their means of oral converse with strangers ignorant of Gaelic. The host of Fynes Moryson's Bohemian Baron—whoever he was—addressed his guest in his best Latin. The knowledge of Latin did not imply, as the Baron probably supposed, that the speaker was a chieftain, or even of high rank. In the case of the Scoti, here and in the country which has appropriated their name, it has been possible to find intellectual culture and classical learning in the midst of surroundings which, to a casual observer, would suggest the absence of civilization. The late Duke of Argyll, in the autobiographical part of the recently published *Memoirs*, describes a visit

to a humble cottage in a county eminently Scotie, where he found volumes of the Greek classics, and an inmate, an excellent ploughman, ready to discuss the merits of a University professor of Greek. "More than one historian has remarked that the state of education in Scotland had always been considerably in advance of what might have been expected from its backward civilization. This has been usually traced to the enduring influence of the old Celtic Church—a Church which had maintained its hold on the country for more than seven centuries, and which had always looked upon the education of the people as a religious duty."*

Don Francisco Cuellar, an officer of one of the ships of the Spanish Armada, wrecked on the north-west coast of Ireland in 1588, wrote an account of his sufferings when wandering through a part of the country which had at that time been wasted by continual wars. To him the natives are indiscriminately savages. But, curiously enough, he found in one of the huts a Latin-speaking savage, to whom he narrated his sufferings. "In the necessity of the circumstances our Lord was pleased that we should understand one another talking Latin." He writes of huts, such as those in which he and the

* *History of the Reformation*, by Dr. Lindsay, ii, p. 275.

Bohemian found Latin-speaking hosts, and also of castles, one of which belonged to a savage whom they called Prince Ocan (O'Cahan). He found shelter for a time in one of those castles, which was "very strong, and belonged to a savage (*salvaje*) gentleman, a very brave soldier, and great enemy of the Queen."* There he attained some popularity as a fortune-teller; and as neither his host nor his beautiful wife spoke Spanish, and he had no Gaelic, we must conclude that conversation in the castle, as well as in the hut, was carried on in Latin.

Bedell, who passed from the Provostship of Trinity College to the Bishopric of Kilmore, died of fever in Loughcooter Castle during the rebellion of 1641. He won the respect and affection of the native Irish. Burnet tells us, in his *Life of Bedell*, that the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together to attend his burial. "The Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment; and cried out in Latin, *requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*," naturally making use of the language in which they were accustomed to address him when living, as did the priest who exclaimed, *sit anima mea cum Bedello*.

There is a curious passage in the History of

* This has been identified as Rossclougher Castle in Lough Melvin, the stronghold of MacClancy.

Ireland by Edmund Campion, who, after a distinguished career in the University of Oxford, came to Ireland in 1569 on an educational mission, of which I shall have more to say hereafter. He wrote his History of Ireland in 1571, having had "familiar societie and daylie table-talke with the worshipfull esquire Iames Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin," of whose children he was tutor. After noticing some characteristics of their great men, he writes of the "meer Irish":—"Without either precepts or observation of congruity they speake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common Schooles of Leach-craft and Law, whereat they begin Children, and hold on sixteene or twentie years, conning by roate the Aphorismes of *Hypocrates* and the Civill Institution, and a few other parings of those two faculties. I have seene them where they kept Schoole, ten in some one Chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their Bookes at their noses, themselves lying flatte prostrate, and so to chaunte out their lessons by peece-meale, being for the most part lustie fellows of twenty five yeares and upwards."* This passage is repro-

* I am indebted to Mr. Harrison, K.C., for a reference to the following passage in Hallam's *Constitutional History*:—"The English laws of supremacy and uniformity were enacted in nearly the same words; and thus the common prayer was at once set up instead of the mass, but with a singular reservation,

duced by Stanyhurst in his *Description of Ireland*. It probably records an experience which he had in common with his preceptor, Campion.

that, in those parts of the country where the minister had no knowledge of the English language, he might read the service in Latin." The fifteenth section of the Irish Act of Uniformity (2 Eliz. c. 2) begins with a recital that "in most places in the realm [of Ireland] English ministers could not be found for common prayer, or to minister the sacraments to the people, and that if some good means were provided that they might use the prayer, service, and administration of sacraments, set out and established by this Act, in such language as they mought best understand, the due honour of God should be thereby much advanced; and for that also that the same may not be in their native language, as well from difficultie to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters." It then enacted "that in every such church or place, where the minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawfull for the same common minister or priest to say and use the mattins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments and all their common and open prayer in the Latin tongue." That it could be said of the inhabitants of most places in Ireland that Latin was, next to Irish, "such language as they mought best understand," naturally appeared strange to Hallam; but to the members of the Irish Parliament of 1560 it was a matter of common knowledge. We have it on the authority of Richard Stanyhurst, as well as of Campion, that the "meer Irish" of that day spoke "Latine like a vulgar language." Of James Stanyhurst Mr. Sidney Lee writes:—"Although he presided over a parliament in Queen Mary's reign, he proved himself a zealous supporter of Protestantism under Elizabeth." (*Dict. of Nat. Biography*.) It was part of his policy to provide that the Book of Common Prayer should be

Here and there we find unmistakable evidence of classical studies among the upper classes in Celtic Ireland. There is no reason to suppose that these studies flourished to an exceptional degree in the remote castle of Dunboy, the story of the siege and capture of which is told in *Pacata Hibernia*. After the capture of his castle O'Sullivan Beare and his family went to Spain, where they were well received by Philip III. In that country his nephew Philip wrote, in 1621, his *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, addressed to the king by *Philippo O Sulleano Bearro Ibero*. The writer was an accomplished Latin scholar. He quotes Ovid, Juvenal, and Virgil, and appends an account of his family in elegiac verse. A correspondence of O'Sullivan with friends in Ireland—Patrick Synnott and Michael Canwell—printed in this volume, is suggestive as to the general knowledge of the Latin classics among Irishmen of his class. Synnott sends a copy of elegiac verses to O'Sullivan, who, in a letter to Canwell (Cantwell), quotes Lucretius.

read in a language understood of the people, who were compellable by law to attend the services of the Reformed Church. The reasons given for the rejection of the Irish language where English was unknown are not convincing ; and the importance of the enactment consists in its recognition, as an existing fact, that Latin was also a language which the people understood.

Writing of the Irish, O'Sullivan notes their respect for letters and men of learning: "eorum observantia erga literas et literatos." So far did they carry their regard for learning that even in the utmost confusion of warfare, it was regarded as an impious crime to injure men of letters, in person or in property: "Apud eos sapientes et genus literatorum hominum, maxime theologi, in honore summo habentur, usque adeo ut etiamsi omnia bello exardeant, imaque et summa misceantur, nefas ducunt in literatorum bona facere impetum, aut ipsos vel levissima injuria provocare."

Without entering into details, he affords us here and there a glimpse of the schools maintained by the Irish chieftains, to which he applies the word *collegia*. He writes of them as richly endowed, and supported by taxes. Ireland was, he tells us, "Domi collegia constituens vectigalibus locupletata."

These schools had, in his time, gone to ruin, so that there was scarcely anyone able to instruct in the higher studies. It was in this state of decay that Campion and Stanyhurst described them in the passage which I have quoted. This state of things O'Sullivan attributes, in part, to the confusion of affairs, and to the quarrels of the chieftains among themselves.

O'Sullivan writes from the Irish point of view. But remarkable testimony to the same effect has been borne by a writer of whom the same cannot be said. I have referred to Stanyhurst's *Description of Ireland* as a trustworthy authority as regards classical scholarship within the Pale. After the year 1579 he lived abroad; and in 1584 he published at Antwerp a work in Latin which has not attracted the attention which it deserves. It is entitled *Richardi Stanihursti Dublinensis de rebus in Hiberniâ gestis*, and is addressed *ad carissimum suum fratrem, clarissimumque virum P. PLUNKETEM, Dominum Baronem Dunsaniæ*.

According to Mr. Sidney Lee (*Dictionary of National Biography*), "in all his works on Ireland Stanyhurst wrote from an English point of view." He certainly wrote from the point of view of an inhabitant of the English Pale; and this circumstance adds weight to his testimony in favour of the aristocracy of Celtic Ireland. But Ireland is his country (*patria*); and in his earlier, but more especially in his later works, he shows a desire to vindicate its character from misconception and misrepresentation. Keating, in the preface to his *History* (1629), most unjustly accuses him of having been bribed to blacken

the character of the Irish nation.* On the other hand, Barnaby Rich, a strong Puritan, denounces him as unworthy of credit, being both a Jesuit and a professed alchemist. (*New Description of Ireland*, 1610.) The abuse thus impartially poured on Stanyhurst may not be conclusive evidence of his veracity; but, apart from this consideration, from his eminence as a scholar and his acquaintance with the country,

* The unfairness of Keating's attack on Stanyhurst appears from his opening statement, "With the first air which he drew in *England* (where he received his education), he conceived an inflexible Aversion to the Irish" (Ed. O'Connor). With more truth, Keating observes of English writers on Ireland generally, that "when they write of this Kingdom, what was worthy or commendable in the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry, they pass over, take no Notice of their Piety, Learning, and Courage, of their charitable Disposition to build Churches and religious Houses with the great Privileges and Endowments they confer'd and settled upon them. They omit to speak of the Protection and Encouragement they gave to their Historiographers, and to other Men of Learning to whom their Liberality was so abounding, that they not only relieved the Indigency of those who made their Application to them, but made publick Invitations expressly for an Opportunity to bestow gratifications upon Persons of Merit and Desert. They forget to mention their virtues and commendable Actions; but in their accounts of this kingdom, these Authors dwell upon the Manners of the lower and baser sort of People, relate idle and fabulous Stories, invented on purpose to amuse the Vulgar and Ignorant, and pass over all that might be said with justice to the Honour of the Nobility and Gentry of that Nation."

there is good reason to accept him as a faith-worthy witness, who had certainly a knowledge of the conditions of life in Ireland which casual visitors could not attain.

He remained on equally affectionate terms with his Roman Catholic and his Protestant kinsfolk—a circumstance in those days worthy of note—with his brother-in-law, Lord Dunsany, and with his uncle, the great Archbishop Ussher, my illustrious predecessor in the office of Vice-Chancellor of this University, who, writing to him in the year 1610, signs himself “your most loving nephew” to a letter asking for a copy of his *Margarita*, “presuming on that natural bond of love which is twixt us.” And although he received some shrewd thrusts in his time, his scholarship is always treated with respect by writers—outside his own country. Thomas Nash, while he derides the measure trod by “Master Stanyhurst (though otherwise learned) in his translation of Virgil,” pays a tribute to his scholarship. Gabriel Harvey, Nash’s antagonist, desired to be “epitaphed the *Inventour of the English Hexameter*, whom learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill, and excellent Sir Philip Sidney disdained not to follow in his *Arcadia* and elsewhere.”*

* “Foure Letters” (1592).

Francis Meres, in his catalogue of English writers (*Palladis Tamia*, 1598), names "two Iambical Poets, Gabriel Harvey and Richard Stanyhurst"; and Southey, while commenting on "the incomparable oddity" of his metrical version of Virgil, writes of him as a "very entertaining and, to a philologist, a very instructive writer." (*Omniana*.) His ignorance of the ancient history and antiquities of Ireland, and his indiscriminating repetition of some unfounded statements of Giraldus Cambrensis, justified the censure of Sir Thomas Ware. (*De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*.) His contributions to the historical portion of *Holinshed* are of little value; but when he writes of matters within his own knowledge, his personal character and his eminence as a scholar constitute him, in my opinion, a trustworthy authority.

The work from which I am about to quote was evidently intended to be supplementary to his *Description of Ireland*, the inadequacy of which he came to realize. Though fairly satisfactory as regards the English Pale, it was all but silent as regards the social condition of the Ireland which lay outside its boundary.

A careful and discriminating student of his earlier work might, indeed, have distinguished between differing classes and characters among

the "meer Irish." Such a student Stanyhurst found in Shakespeare, who wrote some of his greatest works with his *Holinshead* open before him, and whose inquiring mind was evidently attracted by the *Description of Ireland*. It was from Stanyhurst that he learned, amongst other things, that an Irishman might with dramatic propriety be represented as a gentleman.* But to other contemporary writers, the "meer Irish" and "degenerate English" were, indiscriminately, barbarians.

In the dedication of his later work to Lord Dunsany, Stanyhurst gives expression to his grief (*precipuo dolore angī soleo*) that, at a time when the remotest parts of the world are explored, Ireland alone should remain hidden in Cimmerian darkness: "Sola Hibernia, perinde quasi Cimmeriis tenebris hactenus esset oppilata, in crassa obscuritate ubique pœne delitescat." Enough, he thinks, has been written about the inhabitants of the English Pale (*Anglica provincia*), and, consequently, the conditions of life within the Pale are fairly well known. He repeats a noteworthy observation which

* This passing allusion to Shakespeare's indebtedness to Stanyhurst, allowable, perhaps, in a lecture, ought not to be permitted to pass into print without some evidence in support of its accuracy. This will be found in a note in the *Appendix*, Part I, entitled *Shakespeare and Stanyhurst*.

he had developed at greater length in his *Description*. He found in the spoken English many traces of the language of Chaucer, just as an observer of the present day may find, here and there, fragments of the English of the time of Elizabeth.*

As to the Ireland outside the Pale, he finds a widespread belief that it is in a condition of barbarism. To the defamers of his Irish fellow-countrymen he gives the lie direct: "Sed qui illos his conviciis infamant, a mendacio contra verum perspicue stant." I cannot quote at any length from this, the most valuable part of Stanyhurst's treatise. The historical portion of his work is not of much interest. But the entire volume is not a long one; and it is well worth translating and printing for the sake of the first book; for it contains the only trustworthy

* There is a curious passage in Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* on the fashion of "the Irish weedes," which he says are "not Irish garments, but English; for the quilted leather jacke is old English; for it was the proper weede of the horseman, as you may reade in Chaucer, where he describeth Sir Thopas his apparrell and armour, when he went to fight agaynst the Gyant, in his robe of shecklaton, which is that kind of gilded leather with which they use to imbroider theyr Irish jackets. And there likewise by all that description you may see the very fashion and manner of the Irish horseman most truely set foorth, in his long hose, his ryding shooes of costly cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his habergeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging."

account which I have been able to find of the upper classes in Celtic Ireland in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. [In the hope of enlisting sufficient interest in the book to lead to its reproduction, I have printed in the *Appendix*, Part II, a few extracts from this book, with a translation, which my friend, Mr. Edward Gwynn, F.T.C.D., has kindly revised. In one of these extracts he recalls the names of his school-fellows, some of which will be recognized as still extant in Kilkenny. There are many other passages quite as noteworthy as those which I have printed, particularly his reference to the Irish physicians, and his criticism of Irish music, which kindled the special wrath of Keating.]

Stanyhurst writes of the honours paid to learning in terms similar to those of O'Sullivan Beare :—" Nec sacerdotes et rythmici solum, sed omnes etiam literis tincti, sunt in laude et gratia apud illos."

Their knowledge of Latin he takes as a matter of course. He criticizes the manner in which it was learned, which resulted in grammatical inaccuracies and false quantities. It was taught as a living and spoken tongue, not as a dead language. I have already quoted Campion's description of the schools where "they speake Latine like a vulgar language." It is worthy

of note that this mode of instruction in Greek and Latin is advocated by the advanced educationists of the present day. The neglect of grammar and of the quantity of syllables, observed in the time of Stanyhurst and Campion, may have resulted from the decadence of the schools which had been at one time adequately maintained by the Irish chieftains.

I have no doubt that the use of Latin, as a written and spoken language outside the Pale, is a survival from the centuries during which Ireland was the University of western Europe. Where external influences are excluded, either from geographical circumstances, as in the case of Ireland, or from racial isolation, as in the case of the Jews, literary traditions and habits of thought, once they have been firmly rooted, are of great permanence. When Giraldus Cambrensis attended Prince John on his expedition to Ireland in 1185, he must have observed evidences of classical culture among the upper classes in Ireland. Dr. Sandys, in connexion with this subject, notices that, in his historical work describing the conquest by Henry II, "to the Irish chiefs he here ascribes Greek patronymics, and makes them deliver set speeches, garnished with quotations from Cæsar and Ovid."

There is reason to believe that by careful

research some knowledge might be obtained of the state of classical learning in the schools of Celtic Ireland at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. I am led to this conclusion by the result of an examination of one only, and that the most readily accessible, of the sources of information. Amid the dreary waste of tribal feuds and predatory raids which fill the pages of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, a few bright spots are discoverable. These are chiefly discernible at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, and in the years immediately preceding it. Thus we read that in 1551 one MacWard died, "a learned poet, a superintendent of schools, and a man of great name and renown." Another of the same name died in 1576, "Ollav to O'Donnell in poetry, a president of schools, illustrious for his learning and knowledge, a patron and supporter of the learned and the teachers."

In 1545 Pierce O'Morrisy died ; "a master of schools, a general lecturer of the men of Ireland, and a man of charity and piety." Teige O'Coffey was a "preceptor of the schools of Ireland in poetry." Maurice O'Mulconroy, who died in 1543, was "a man learned in history and poetry, a man of wealth and influence, a learned scribe, by whom many books

had been transcribed, and who had kept many schools superintending, and learning, several of which he had constantly kept in his own house." These primitive educationists, you see, had not got beyond a system of school inspection and superintendence. Competitive examinations and results fees were reserved for the "civility" of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, however, some symptoms are discernible of a partial relapse to the methods of Mac Ward and of O'Mulconroy.

That these schools taught more than bardic literature is evident from some of these obituary notices. McReava, who died in 1567, was at all events bilingual, for he is described not only as "a man of general hospitality, who kept a free house of guests," but "learned in tongues and languages." Of these languages Latin was certainly one.

In 1566 Melaghlin O'Madden, of the sept of Hy Many, died. Of him it is recorded "that he was as a reader of Latin and Irish by no means the least distinguished of the gentlemen of Ireland in his time"—words which suggest that distinction as a reader of Latin was an ordinary accomplishment of the Irish gentleman of the day. The literary traditions of this sept are attested by the obituary notice of Murchadh O'Madden,

who died in 1371, and is described as "general patron of the literati, the poor, and the needy of Ireland." As my learned fellow-clansman of 1566 was distinguished as "a supporting pillar of women, as well as of the poor and miserable," I feel justified in believing that the higher education of women was not neglected by him, although I have been unable to discover any evidence as to the position of the woman student in the educational system of Celtic Ireland.*

The ancient schools of Ireland, at the time when we lose sight of them in the mists of the Dark Ages, were monastic institutions. When they again emerge into light, in the period of which I am speaking, we find them no longer in connexion with religious houses, but lay schools well endowed at the public charge (*vectigalibus locupletata*), and under the superintendence of the chieftains. Hence it follows that the state of

* This personal note may be explained, and perhaps excused, by the following statement :—The direct ancestor of the writer, Thomas Madden, who came from England with Strafford as comptroller of his household, and represented the borough of Dungannon in the Parliament of 1639, established in 1635 his right to the arms which are borne by his descendants. This appears from a funeral entry of that date in the records of the Ulster office. They are those of O'Madden as certified by Daniel Molyneux, Ulster King of Arms, in 1594. There is an account of this Thomas Madden's branch of the sept in O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*.

learning in Celtic Ireland at that time cannot be measured by the educational work done by the religious houses. Of these, some 520 in number at the time of their dissolution, Dr. Mahaffy writes :—" I will not deny for a moment that they were charitable and hospitable ; but all the evidence I can gather proves to me that they did not educate or civilize the natives."* That the work of education had, at the time of which Dr. Mahaffy wrote, passed from ecclesiastical to lay control is a conclusion borne out by such evidence as I have been able to discover.

The devastating wars of Elizabeth's reign completed the destruction of these schools and of their patrons. At the commencement of her reign they seem to have been reduced, mainly by the dissensions of the chieftains, to the condition described by Campion. Then came the convulsions of the seventeenth century and the penal legislation which followed. The curious in such matters may find in the hedge-school and poor scholar of Carleton and Crofton Croker a survival from the times of which Campion wrote ; and we may be disposed to regard the knowledge of Latin which has

* *A Lecture on Elizabethan Ireland*, delivered before the Royal Dublin Society, and printed in the *Church of Ireland Gazette*, March 30, 1907.

been found to exist in remote places within living memory, and the native courtesy of the peasantry, as a heritage from bygone ages.*

I am not without hope that some traces of the influence of these lay schools may, as the result of careful investigation, be discovered, up to a time within living memory. This expectation was suggested by what I had heard many years ago of Latin scholars who were to be found among the peasantry of Kerry;† and it is confirmed by

* Dr. Johnson attributed the courtesy of the Scottish Highlanders to the influence of the clan system. "Civility seems part of the national character of Highlanders. Every chieftain is a monarch; and politeness, the natural product of royal government, is diffused from the laird through the whole clan."—*A Journey through the Western Highlands*.

† "My friend, Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., was much interested in the suggested inquiry into the traditional classical learning of what I may call his own county. As the first fruits of his investigation, he has placed in my hand a letter, the substance of which he stated in his inaugural address as President of the Classical Association of Ireland. It is written by a school-master in the county of Kerry, who speaks from information derived from his father. He mentions the names of three families, strongly suggestive of Celtic origin, inhabitants of a little village on the sea-coast of Kerry, "who were so well educated that they always carried on their conversation in Latin when they did not want the rest of the village to know what they were talking about; and they even disputed about their local differences in that tongue."

It is to be regretted that more writers did not, like Mr. T. Crofton Croker, record their experience of the Ireland of the

a deeply interesting note appended to a passage in a handbook on *Ancient Irish Civilization*, by the publication of which Dr. Joyce has rendered more generally accessible some of the stores of learning collected in his *Social History of Ancient Ireland*. Writing of "the simple, rough-and-ready methods and appliances of the old Irish colleges," he explains how "there were no comfortable study-rooms, well furnished with desks, seats, and rostrums; no spacious lecture halls. The greater part of the work, indeed, was carried on in the open air when the weather at all permitted. At study time the students went just where they pleased, and accommodated themselves as best they

early years of the last century. In his *Researches in the South of Ireland* he writes :—" 'In the present day,' says Sir Richard Cox [*circa* 1689] 'very few of the Irish aim at any more than a little Latin, which every cowboy pretends to, and a smattering of logic, which very few of them know the use of.' This passage, though intended to convey little commendation of Latin learning, is certainly a strong evidence of literary taste, and may excite some curiosity to become better acquainted with mountaineers who even aim at 'a little Latin.' . . . Among the peasantry classical learning is not uncommon, and a tattered Ovid or Virgil may be found even in the hands of common labourers. . . . Cæsar, Justin, Julius, Florence, Terence, and Horace are Christian names not uncommon in the South of Ireland." Thus we find in the *Terry* of Irish country life not only an interesting vestige of ancient civilization, but earnest of the permanence of classical learning when planted in Irish soil.

could. All round the college you would see every flowery bank, every scented hedgerow, every green glade and sunny hillock occupied with students, sitting or lying down, or pacing thoughtfully, each with his precious manuscript book before him, all poring over the lesson assigned for next lecture, silent, attentive, and earnest." Here Dr. Joyce notes: "I saw the same custom in full swing in some of the lay schools before 1847. Many a time I prepared my lesson—with some companions—sitting on the grass beside the old abbey in Kilmallock, or perched on the top of the ivy-mantled wall."

The annalists whose works formed the basis of the compilation for which we are indebted to the Four Masters assumed in their readers an acquaintance with the conditions of life in the Celtic Ireland of their day. Hence the casual nature of their references to schools and men of learning. Stanyhurst addressed his treatise *De rebus in Hibernia gestis* to those whom he regarded as either entirely ignorant, or labouring under a mistaken belief, the result of mendacious misrepresentation by those who *a mendacio contra verum perspicue stant*.* He was there-

* It is probable that the defamer of his country present to the mind of Stanyhurst was John Hooker, *alias* Vowell, who succeeded him as Irish editor of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The

fore at pains to set forth in some detail various matters closely connected with the state of learning and civilization among the upper classes of the "meer Irish," including the kind of dwellings which they inhabited. He describes the massive stone-built castles inhabited by the chieftains, with their strangely constructed thatched banqueting-halls, and gives some interesting details of manners and customs. Of many of the dwellings of the native aristocracy, all traces have perished. But the remains of innumerable castles, peel-towers, and strongholds may still be found scattered throughout the greater part of the Ireland

second edition was not published until 1586; but Stanyhurst complains of oral, not written, defamation (*sermo increpuit*, etc.). Hooker was a prominent member of the Parliament of which James Stanyhurst was Speaker, and, on his own showing, was one who spoke his mind pretty freely. Richard Stanyhurst must have known the spirit in which his work would be continued by his successor. Keating gives currency to a statement that Stanyhurst prepared a paper to be printed in Ireland. This paper, according to Keating, was a revocation of falsehoods for which the writer was responsible. Keating, who was mistaken in supposing Stanyhurst to be an Englishman (*ante*, p. 37), may have confused the two editors of *Holinshed*, and held Stanyhurst responsible for the sins of Hooker. If Stanyhurst, when he found that his anticipations as to the work of his successor had been realized to the full, did prepare a refutation, it is much to be regretted that it never saw the light.

which lay outside the Pale. The tourist in the course of a railway journey from Dublin to Killarney may not have acquired, by a survey of the country from the windows of his railway carriage, an exhaustive knowledge of Ireland. But an insight into the domestic and ecclesiastical architecture of Celtic Ireland, sufficient to safeguard him from current errors, may be had by examining the photographs exhibited within; representing Ross Castle, Killarney, built by a native chieftain in the fourteenth century; Blarney Castle, built by M'Carthy in 1446; Muckross Abbey, founded in 1440 by M'Carthy; and Holycross Abbey, the foundation of O'Brien in 1182. It is not only to the security afforded by the castle of the chieftain to his Household—bard, senachie, ollav, and harper—but more especially to the divinity which hedged the dwelling of the humblest professor of learning—*etiamsi omnia bello exardeant*—and protected his person and property from the slightest injury, that we must attribute the possibility of the co-existence of literary tastes and pursuits with the petty wars, tribal conflicts, and predatory raids that occupy so large a space in the annals of Celtic Ireland.*

* See a note on the *Dwellings of the Chieftains and Upper Classes in Celtic Ireland*, Appendix, Part III.

Such was the condition of classical scholarship in Ireland when Elizabeth began her reign. Within the Pale, and in the principal cities outside its boundary, there were grammar schools formed on the English model, some of them evidently of a high order, from which students proceeded to the English Universities. In Celtic Ireland, there were schools of a different kind, endowed and protected by the chieftains, in which students were educated, not only in the native law and medicine, and in the bardic literature, but in the Latin classics; and, as the result of this training, we find an acquaintance with Latin, as a written and as a spoken language, which careful University training might have developed into exact scholarship. The study of Greek, for which the ancient Scotie schools had been famous, had probably died out, as in the rest of western Europe. Its re-introduction was the result of the labour of the Humanists in the revival of learning. At the time with which we are concerned Greek was taught only in the highest of the English grammar schools, one of which was at Stratford-on-Avon; and a knowledge of Greek, even though it might, in the estimation of a great and critical scholar, be somewhat less than small, was the distinctive mark of one

who had received a classical education of the first order.*

Elizabeth's advisers seem to have at one time realized the opportunity which Ireland thus presented; for the foundation of a University was part of the mission entrusted to Sir Henry Sidney, when, sorely against his will, he returned to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1565. He knew from experience the difficulty of his task; for he had accompanied his brother-in-law, Sussex, to Ireland in 1556, as Vice-Treasurer, and a member of the Irish Privy Council; and he had been twice sworn in as sole Lord Justice.

Mr. Froude, in his *History of England*, sets forth the substance of a *Device for the better government of Ireland*, which was to have been carried into effect by Sidney. "Noble provisions were pictured out for the rebuilding of the ruined churches at the Queen's expense, with 'twelve free grammar schools,' where the Irish youth should grow into civility, and 'twelve hospitals for aged and impotent folk.' A University should be founded in Elizabeth's name, and endowed with lands at Elizabeth's cost." I have not been able to test the accuracy of Mr. Froude's version of this document, which

* See the chapter on *The Classical Renaissance*, by Sir Richard Jebb, *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i.

he quotes from the Irish MSS. in the Rolls House; but that it is substantially correct is evident from Sidney's subsequent action. He succeeded in obtaining an Act of Parliament for the foundation of grammar schools; and he laboured hard but unsuccessfully to crown his work by the establishment of a University.

Sidney had rare qualifications for the task. He has been well described by a biographer as "by far the ablest of the many able men that governed Ireland under Elizabeth. . . . Of a somewhat sanguine complexion, a naturally healthy constitution, a pleasant disposition, and merry conversation, delighting in scientific and literary topics, interested especially in naval matters, an excellent speaker, a lover of good society and hospitality, he sacrificed health and pleasure in the execution of the trust reposed in him."*

Campion, who was brought personally into contact with him, describes him as "a great searcher and preserver of antiquities," and as "learned in many languages, and a great lover of learning, perfect in blazoning of arms, skilful of antiquities, of wit fresh and lively." The recognition in Celtic Ireland of these high qualities, notwithstanding the severe measures

* *Dictionary of National Biography.*

to which he felt it his duty to have recourse, is due to his sense of justice and to his sympathetic nature. I find him described in the *Annals of the Four Masters* as a "knight by title, nobleness, deed, and valour."*

With all these personal qualifications for success in educational work, Sir Henry Sidney failed. It is not easy to discern the precise reason of his failure. It was probably due to the combined operation of several causes ; but it was not owing to lack of zeal and perseverance on the part of Sidney, Stanyhurst, or Campion ; indeed it has been suggested that an apprehension of excessive zeal on the part of Campion aroused the suspicion of Cecil, who at that time represented the distinctively Protestant party in the Church of England. The biographer of Campion in the *Dictionary of National Biography* borrowed an explanation of Sidney's failure from an interesting memoir by Richard Simpson (author of *The School of Shakespeare*), for which I have been unable to find any contemporary

* Sir Henry Sidney possessed some of the qualities which placed his son among the greatest men of a great age. The name of Sidney is not devoid of association with Trinity College, for Sir William Temple, our fourth Provost, was the friend and secretary of Sir Philip Sidney, and it was in his arms that his master died. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, Tit. TEMPLE.)

authority. The chief mover in Sidney's University policy, as he correctly states, "was the Recorder of Dublin and Speaker of the House Commons, James Stanyhurst, the father of one of Campion's most distinguished pupils. In his house, Campion remained for some time, leading a kind of monastic life, and waiting for the opening of the new university. The scheme fell through, however; and the chief cause of its failure was the secret hostility of the Government to Stanyhurst, and the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, who were most actively concerned in it, and to Campion, who was to have had the principal share in its direction. Campion was distrusted as a Papist, and orders were given for his arrest; but for two or three months he eluded the pursuit of the pursuivants, lurking in the houses of his friends, and working at a *History of Ireland*, which is hardly so much a serious history as a pamphlet written to prove that education is the only means of taming the Irish."

It is quite possible that Cecil, a strong Protestant, may have distrusted Campion, who, though at that time nominally conforming to the established religion, was notoriously in sympathy with the Church of which he became a devoted member; and he may have dreaded the effect of the influence which this remarkable man seems

to have exercised on those with whom he came in contact.* It may be fairly concluded that Campion's mission in Ireland was not purely educational; for he succeeded in winning to Roman Catholicism two of James Stanyhurst's children, the mother of Archbishop Ussher, and Richard the historian, (who afterwards became a member of the Society of Jesus. *see below*)

This is not the only time at which the spectre of the religious difficulty has crossed the path of the educational reformer; and we cannot be surprised that the statesmen of the day were lacking in the courage to lay it. If the postponement of the establishment of an Irish University was due to such apprehensions as those suggested by Mr. Simpson, it may be doubted whether Cecil's policy in this respect was really in the interests of the Reformed faith. Dr. Mahaffy has pointed

* "All writers," writes Wood (*Athena Oxon.*), "whether Protestant or Popish, say that he was a man of admirable parts, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher and disputant, and an exact preacher, whether in English or Latin tongue, of a meek disposition, and a well-polished man. A certain writer (Dr. Thomas Fuller) saith he was of a sweet nature, constantly carrying about with him the charms of a plausible behaviour, of a fluent tongue, and good parts. And another (Richard Stanihurst), who was his most beloved friend, saith that he was upright in conscience, deep in judgment, and ripe in eloquence."

out, in his *Epoch in Irish History*, the extent to which the forces of the Counter-Reformation were strengthened during the interval which elapsed between Perrot's first proposal for the establishment of a University in Dublin and the foundation of Trinity College in 1591. These observations apply with greater force to the year 1565—a time when some of the most effective of these forces had scarcely come into operation in Ireland.

A sufficient cause of Sidney's failure to obtain assistance from the Crown in carrying out the educational scheme entrusted to him may be found in the disposition of the Queen. The Irish policy of Elizabeth presents a strong contrast to the action of that great monarch when directed to English or foreign affairs. Vacillating between the extremes of severity and of lenity, her policy was consistent only in its unvarying niggardliness. To this cause it may be due that Sidney, in default of aid from the Crown, was compelled to apply to the Irish House of Commons, with the result which I shall presently state.

There are no records of the proceedings in the Parliament of 1570; but it is possible to follow the course of Sidney's educational policy by the aid of the *Statutes*, the *State Papers*, the *Sidney*

Papers edited by Arthur Collins, and Campion's History.*

Sidney began his policy of educational reform with an attempt to establish a free grammar school in each diocese. His first recorded effort in this direction appears to have met with opposition, for we find the Lord Chancellor thus writing to Cecil on March 18th, 1569—"Bills for repairing churches and erecting schools refused."

In the following year he succeeded in obtaining from Parliament *An Act for the Erection of Free Schools* (12 Eliz., c. 1). It enacted "that there shall be henceforth a free schoole within every diocese of this realm of Ireland. . . . The schoolehouse for every diocesse to be builded and erected in the principall shiretowne of the diocesse where schoolehouses be not already builded at the costes and charges of the whole diocesse." This statute became a dead letter. The serious defects in the Act are stated in a subsequent statute, 12 Geo. I, c. 9. There was a difficulty in ascertaining the principal shiretown of each diocese, the boundaries of shires and of dioceses not

* All available information on the subject of the Tudor Parliaments has been collected by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner in papers on the subject printed in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. xxv., sect. C).

being conterminous. No means were provided for applotting and levying the necessary funds; consequently, "no money has ever yet been raised for the building of such free school, and when any such money has been raised [*sic*] it has hitherto turned to very little account." If Parliament had been in earnest, these defects could easily have been remedied. The educational zeal of Sidney's Parliament did not go beyond the expression of a pious wish that free schools might somehow be established, somewhere, at the expense of the diocesan clergy; and with Sidney's departure, interest in the matter seems to have vanished altogether. Sidney returned to Ireland in 1575; but before then the cause of University education had lost a true friend, and the Lord Deputy a loyal ally, in the death of James Stanyhurst.

Sidney was still more unfortunate in his efforts to establish a University in Ireland. Failing to obtain a grant of land or money from the Crown, he was compelled to apply to Parliament for the funds required for its endowment. On the 12th of March, 1570, Lord Chancellor Weston wrote to Cecil :—"In furtherance of the bills drawn for building of schools, repairing of churches and chapels, and to call churchmen to their cures, and of the motion for founding a University, as the

best means of preserving peace in that realm." (*State Papers*.) The bill referred to was evidently that which resulted in the abortive statute of 1570. I cannot find that a bill for the establishment of a University was ever submitted for the sanction of the English Privy Council.

The motion for founding a University referred to in the Lord Chancellor's letter must have received the sanction of Cecil, for it was brought forward in the Irish House of Commons, and there rejected. In the absence of a record of the proceedings in the House, we must rely on Campion as our authority. "The day of prorogation," he writes, 12 December, 1570, "when the Knights and Burgesses of the Comonalty resorted to the Lordes of the upper house, much good matter was there uttered between the Deputy and the Speaker, whereof comming home to my lodging I tooke notes, and here I will deliver them, as neere as I can call them to minde, in the same words and sentences that I heard them." In these speeches Sidney and the Speaker deplore that the foundation of diocesan free grammar schools had not been followed up by the foundation of a University; and Sidney expresses a hope that the consent of Parliament might be obtained,

"and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate." *

Thwarted by the short-sighted parsimony of his Queen, and struggling with the indifference of his Parliament, this wise and generous ruler offered a large annual grant of his own moneys in aid of the endowment of a University—liberality all the more remarkable inasmuch as his private resources were grievously crippled by the cost of his Irish administration. "He had an intention, which proceeded by degrees to motions in Parliament, to have erected some publick Schools and Nurseries of learning, which in Time might have become a University, and which has since happened. For the better Reformation and Civilization of Irish People he offered a large annual Revenue of his own for the furtherance of so good a Purpose. But although in the Beginning a great appearance was shown to have many worthy and rich Furtherers, it ended only in words, they failing in their promises."†

* These speeches are printed as Appendix, Part IV.

† *Sidney Papers*, by Arthur Collins. The editor of this collection may be accepted as a trustworthy authority. "Carlyle in his rectorial address to the students of Edinburgh University, acknowledged that when writing his 'Cromwell' he 'got a great deal of help out of poor Collins,' whom he called 'a diligent and dark London bookseller of about a hundred years ago, a very meritorious man,' and whose chief work he pronounced 'a

This statement of Collins is borne out by the speeches of Stanyhurst and of Sidney as recorded by Campion. The Speaker, regretting the rejection of the proposal for the foundation of a University, adds—"which attempt can never be remembred without thanks to your good Lordship for your bountifull offer." And the Lord Deputy, regretting that the opinions of the House had not matched with his, expresses a hope that their "consents therein are only suspended for a time."

The educational mission entrusted to Sidney must be viewed in the light of the political and religious policy of Elizabeth and of her English advisers, of which it was a part. It is quite possible that Sidney, a Humanist rather than a religionist, may have felt an interest in the establishment of free grammar schools throughout Ireland, and of a University in Dublin, apart from a consideration of their value as a means of promoting this policy. He appears to have

very poor peerage as a work of genius, but an excellent book for diligence and fidelity.' " (*Dict. Nat. Biography*, Tit. COLLINS.) It may have been the memory of her illustrious brother, and of his unselfish work in the cause of University education, that inspired his sister, the widow of his predecessor, Sussex, to devote her fortune to founding in the University of Cambridge a college bearing the name of Sidney Sussex.

taken a personal interest in the Irish chieftains, and to have had hopes, in the early years of his government, of gaining their allegiance by peaceful means.

“He often invited gentlemen of the ancient Irish, and reclaimed them to Civility, Comeliness of Habit, and Cleanliness in diet, House, and Lodging: which, partly in respect of the great Love and Affection they bore to him, and partly of friendly Fear to offend him, many afterwards observed and followed; so that it may justly be said he was the first that civilized the *Irish* Nation.”*

The Parliament to which he unfolded his educational policy passed an Act for the granting of letters patent of their lands to “the Irishrie and degenerated men of English name.” This was a development of the policy by which, in the time of Henry VIII, it was sought, by grants of land and peerages, to convert the independent tribal chieftains of Ireland into loyal feudatories of the Crown. In his report to Elizabeth of his journeys through Munster (20th April, 1567, *Sidney Papers*), Sidney expresses a belief that many of the lords, desirous of escaping from the “Tirany of the Earl of Desmond,” and of Clanricarde, would become “free subjectes, owinge

* Collins, *Sidney Papers*.

immediate service to your Majestie and to your Crowne Imperiall."

The statute of 1570 purports to have been passed at the request of the chieftains, who were present in considerable numbers at the meetings of the Parliaments held in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, without forming part of the Legislature.* It recites "where the more part of the Irishrie, and divers descended of English name within this realm, have made humble petition unto the Lord Deputy to be meane with Her Majestie to accept of them the surrender" of lands which they held "by Irish custome, and not by tenure according to Her Majestie's Lawes."

How these hopeful prospects were blighted ; how Sidney returned to England after a second term of office, broken in health and in estate, his services unrecognized and unrequited ; and how Ireland, in the later years of the reign of Elizabeth, was swept by devastating wars, which obliterated for a time all traces of the state of society which we have been considering, you may learn from the Histories of the time.

History has recognized the great qualities, intellectual and moral, of Sir Henry Sidney. But while it records his political and military

* *Irish Legislative Systems*, by the Right Hon. J. T. Ball.

TRIBUTE TO SIDNEY AND STANYHURST. 67

services, it has failed to do justice to his efforts to establish in Ireland a complete system of secondary and University education, or to the loyal support which he received from the Speaker of a House of Commons which cared little for such things. The names of Sidney and Stanyhurst should be held in honour by all workers in the cause of higher education in Ireland.

The reason of the failure of the next attempt to supply Ireland with University teaching has been clearly pointed out by Dr. Mahaffy. Sir John Perrot, when he first essayed the task, made the fatal mistake of associating this beneficent policy with an attack upon an institution the friends of which were strong enough to defeat his proposals. "The long conflict concerning the transformation of St. Patrick's Cathedral into an Irish University came to a conclusion with the retirement and disgrace of Perrot, its hottest advocate."*

I have now reached the threshold of a new and brighter era in the history of the cultivation of literature in Ireland. When the history of classical learning in the University of Dublin comes to be written, as I hope it will be, by a member of this Society, there is no part to which

* *An Epoch in Irish History.*

I shall turn with greater interest than to the eighteenth century. Trinity College had not then attained to the reputation which she acquired in the nineteenth century as a seat of learning. But the University of Berkeley, Swift, Molyneux, Burke, Goldsmith, Grattan, and Sheridan was a great and world-famous school. There is abundant evidence that our graduates of the eighteenth century, including those who had not won special distinction in the schools, carried away from this venerable Regent's Hall, in which the exercises for the degree were conducted in the Latin language, a competent knowledge of the principal classical authors. It is usual to select the names of Swift and Goldsmith from the list of our great men of the eighteenth century, a few of whom I have mentioned, as instances of students who had profited little by their scholastic training. Swift has been vindicated by our great Provost and revered friend, Dr. Salmon, from the charge of having neglected his classical studies; and his scholarship, at all events so far as Latin is concerned, is recognized. In the current number of the *Quarterly Review* (October, 1907) there is an interesting article on Goldsmith. The writer says—"The freedom with which Goldsmith uses classical material suggests much less ignorance than he is commonly

credited with"—a conclusion which agrees with Dr. Kennedy's carefully prepared estimate of his scholarship in his Trinity Monday discourse on Oliver Goldsmith, which will, I hope, find a place in a future volume of our *Peplographia*.

I must now bring to a close an address which has reached a greater length than I had intended, by wishing a long career of prosperity and usefulness to the Trinity College Classical Society.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

SHAKESPEARE AND STANYHURST.

SHAKESPEARE, in the composition of *Richard II*, followed his *Holinshed* so closely, and, in some parts, with such verbal accuracy, as to render it possible to identify the edition of 1586 as that on which he worked, by his copying of a misprint peculiar to this edition; and he has given proof that he did not overlook Stanyhurst's share in the work.

Now for our Irish wars:

We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns,
Which live like venom where no venom else
But only they have privilege to live.

Richard II, II. i. 156.

Irish kerns were known to Marlowe and to other writers of the day. But Shakespeare's kern was "rug-headed" and "shag-hair'd" (*2 Henry VI*, III. i. 367), for he had read in the *Description of Ireland* of the "long crisped bushes of heare which they terme glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning."

It is satisfactory to know that Richard's speech is not to be attributed to Shakespeare's personal experience of Irishmen. It is simply a reminiscence of *Holinshed*. Stanyhurst in his account of "how Saint Patricke was mooved to expell all the venomous wormes out of Ireland," quotes with indignation a slanderous suggestion from the *Dialogues* of

Alanus Copus: "Dici fortasse inde a nonnullis solet nihil esse in Hiberniâ venenati praeter ipsos homines." When Hamlet, to the confusion of commentators, swore by St. Patrick, he may have had in his mind this most entertaining passage in his favourite *Holinshed*.

I have said in the *Address* that Shakespeare learned from his *Holinshed* to discriminate between the rug-headed Irish kern and an Irish gentleman, and that he was somehow led to place an Irish gentleman on the stage. The stage Irishman of Ben Jonson and of Dekker was a comic footman. Captain Macmorris was "an Irishman, a very valiant gentleman i' faith" (*Henry V*, III. ii. 71). His name, a not unusual adaptation of MacMorrough, suggests that Shakespeare had been attracted by the story of MacMorrough and O'Rorke's wife, as he found it in *Holinshed*, although he found it less promising as the foundation of a successful drama than the stories of Macbeth and of Lear, which he derived from the same source.

Shakespeare's Welshman, Fluellen, is generally recognized as an elaborate study, drawn from life with extraordinary exactness. His Irishman is the presentation of a lay figure, clad in certain habiliments, indicative of his nationality. His Captain Macmorris appears in one scene only, in which he displays with startling rapidity a number of national characteristics, all of which are noted by Stanyhurst in his *Description*. The Irishman is, he tells us, an "excellent horseman, delighted with wars." He is "verie glorious." "Tish ill done," cries Macmorris; "the work ish give over, the trumpet sound the retreat. By my hand, I swear, and my father's soul, the work ish ill done; it ish give over: I would have blowed up the town, so Chrish save me, la! in an hour. . . . The town

is beseeched, and the trumpet calls us to the breach ; and we talk, and be Chrish, do nothing : 'tis shame for us all ; so God sa' me, 'tis shame to stand still ; it is shame, be my hand ; and there is throats to be cut." Of a truth, *miles gloriosus*, "delighted with wars."

He falls into a rage at an unfinished remark of Fluellen which might have proved harmless enough.

FLU. Captain Macmorris, I think, look you, under your correction ; there is not many of your nation——

MAC. Of my nation ! What ish my nation ? Ish a villain and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal—what ish my nation ? Who talks of my nation ?

"The Irish man," says Stanyhurst, "standeth so much on his gentilitie that he termeth anie one of the English sept and planted in Ireland, 'Bovdeagh Galteagh'—that is, 'English churle.' So much for the meere Irish." Hence it was that Shakespeare derived his conception of an Irish gentleman, valorous, "verie glorious," choleric, standing upon his dignity as a gentleman, and ready to resent an imaginary insult to his nation.

Many proofs are to be found of Shakespeare's study and appreciation of the pages of his *Holinshed* which told him of Ireland.

"A bard of Ireland told me once I should not live long after I saw Richmond" (*Richard III*, iv. ii. 109). This uncomfortable bard was probably one of a class of whom Shakespeare had read. Of these bards, if not bountifully rewarded, "the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe." It was, no doubt, in consequence of his study of *Holinshed* that Shakespeare was the first to import into the English language this Celtic word "bard," as a synonym for "poet." The earliest instance of the

use of the word in this sense which is noted in the *New English Dictionary*, is a passage from *Antony and Cleopatra*, in which Enobarbus says that "hearts, tongues, figures, scribes, bards, poets, cannot Think, speak, cast, write, sing, number, ho! His love to Antony" (III. ii. 16).

When Hotspur said, "I had rather hear Lady, my brach, howl in Irish" (*1 Henry IV*, III. i. 240), he must have been reading Stanyhurst's description of the "howling and barbarous outcries" at the burial of the dead, "whereof grew, as I suppose, the prouerbe, to weepe Irish."

Master Ford's unwillingness "to trust an Irishman with my aqua-vitæ bottle," was fully justified by Stanyhurst's eulogy of that liquor; as eloquent as Falstaff's commendation of sack. Quoting from one Theoricus, who "wrote a proper treatise of aqua-vitæ, wherein he praiseth it into the ninth degree," he enumerates twenty-four of its virtues. "Being moderatelie taken" (saith he) "it sloweth age, it strengthneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth flegme, it abandoneth melancholie, it relisheth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, . . . it keepeth and preservith the head from whirling, the eies from dazeling, the tong from lisping, the mouth from maffing, the teeth from ratling, . . . and truly it is a soveraigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken."

"We shall lose our time," says Caliban to his co-conspirators against his wonder-working master, "and all be turned to barnacles, or to apes" (*Tempest*, IV. i. 248). And commentators have suggested several books, including Gerard's *Herbal* (1597), which may have suggested the strange history

of the barnacle. Whether or not Shakespeare read these books, we cannot tell. But we know that he studied his *Holinshead*; and in Stanyhurst's description he found the story of the barnacle told in such a diverting fashion that it could not have escaped his memory.

"The inhabitants of Ireland are accustomed to move question whether barnacles be fish or flesh, and as yet they are not fullie resolved, but most usuallie the religious of streictest abstinence doo eat them on fish daies." According to Giraldus Cambrensis and Polychronicon, "the Irish cleargie in this point straie." Stanyhurst, loyal to his native country, comes to the aid of the Irish clergy, but on somewhat different grounds, holding "according to my simple judgement under the correction of both parties that the barnacle is neither fish nor flesh, but rather a meane between both," and therefore not "within the compasse of the estatute." This gives rise to an interesting inquiry whether there "should be anie living thing that was not fish nor flesh"; somewhat like a question thus resolved by Trinculo: "What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest Poor-John. A strange fish I do now let loose my opinion; hold it no longer: this is no fish" (*Tempest*, II. ii. 26).

Mr. Elton, in *William Shakespeare: his Family and Friends*, accounts for Rosalind's "Pray no more of this; 'tis like the howling of Irish wolves," by suggesting that, by reason of Hugh O'Neill's crusade against the English "when *As You Like It* came out in the year 1599, any topical allusion to Ireland was

sure of success. His hearers would expect 'Syrian,' not 'Irish,' wolves." This may be so, and Shakespeare found his topical allusion ready to hand in his well-worn *Holinshead*.

The idea of policy announced by Richard II in the passage which I have quoted—war, followed by the supplanting of the kerns—was, I believe, borrowed by Shakespeare from a greater than Stanyhurst. No happier word than "supplant" could be found to express the kind of plantation proposed by Spenser in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*. It consisted in the removing of entire clans to distant parts of the country, and replacing them by English settlers. By the use of the single word "supplant," Richard united the idea of plantation with that of "displanting"—a word then in use to denote the uprooting of inhabitants from their settled abode (see *Romeo and Juliet*, III. iii. 59). This kind of plantation is essentially different from that advocated by Bacon in his *Essay of Plantations*. "I like a plantation in a pure Soil; that is where people are not *displanted* to the end to *plant* in others; for else it is rather an Extirpation than a Plantation." I have written elsewhere: "The subjects of most of the sketches in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* are not named, and of these unnamed poets none have been identified with a nearer approach to certainty than Shakespeare. The prophetic eye of Spenser foresaw the eagle flight of the young poet whose earliest essay in playwriting was an appeal to the heroic aspirations of Elizabeth's England; and his name suggested a play on words, in the manner of the time. 'His Muse,' the poet writes of Aetion, 'full of high thoughts invention, Doth like himselfe heroically sound.'" Aetion was

Spenser's friend. Spenser wrote of him thus, "A gentler shepherd may no where be found"; and from the conversation of Spenser during his visits to London, Aetion may have borrowed the idea of Irish policy which, expressed in aptest words, he put into the mouth of Richard with dramatic propriety, as he was about to engage in his Irish wars.

PART II.

STANYHURST, DE REBUS IN HIBERNIA GESTIS.

PREVAILING IGNORANCE ABOUT IRELAND.

Saepe & multum, Plunkete frater, praecipuo dolori angi soleo, quod, cum extimi orbis terrarum recessus ad hominum scientiam magis ac magis cottidie, perueniant, sola Hibernia, perinde quasi Cimмериis tenebris hactenus esset oppilata, in crassa obscuritate ubique paene delitescat. Nam ut eorum monumenta, acerrima ac attentissima meditatione percurras, qui se totos in regionum terrestrium, atque maritimarum rerum peruestigatione posuerunt; tamen vix aliquod ex eorum scriptis verbum expiscari potes (extra Abrahamum Ortelium, clarum in Geographia ac nobilem), quod ad nationem nostram, meritis laudibus illustrandam, pertinere videatur: contraque, si quam tandem de Hibernia mentionem faciant, eam vel rumusculorum mendacioribus imprudenter onerant, vel importunis maledictis impudenter figunt.—(P. 3.)

Many a time and sorely, brother Plunket, am I afflicted with especial grief, because, at a time when the remotest corners of the globe are, day by day, coming more and more to the knowledge of mankind, Ireland alone lies hidden in thick darkness, just as if she had been enshrouded to this day in Cimmerian shades. For although you were to peruse, with keenest and most attentive thought, the works of those who have devoted

themselves to the investigation of the regions of the earth and of the affairs of the sea, you could, nevertheless, hardly extract a single word from their writings (with the exception of Abraham Ortelius, illustrious and distinguished as a geographer) which would seem concerned with paying to our nation the due meed of praise: on the contrary, if, in the end, they make some mention of Ireland, they foolishly heap on her the petty lies of gossip, or impudently taunt her with unmannerly abuse.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PETER WHITE'S SCHOOL AT
KILKENNY.

Hic ludum aperuit, nostra ætate, Petrus Whitus, cuius in totam Rempub. summa constant merita. Ex illius enim schola, tamquam ex equo Troico, homines litteratissimi in reipub. lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walsheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Shethos, quos Garueos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Strongos, quos Lumbardos, excellentes ingenio, & doctrina viros, commemorare potuissem, qui primis temporibus ætatis in eius disciplinam se tradiderunt. Huic ego doctori operam, in eadem schola, puerulus dedi. Cui quidem homini tanto officio, ac potius pietate sum deuinctus, vt haud sciam qui remunerando esse possim, cum infinita ejus in me merita ne numerando quidem percensere valeam. (P. 25.)

Here in our day Peter White opened a school:—a man whose services to the state at large stand high. From this man's school, as from the horse of Troy, men of the highest learning came to light in the state. What names I might recall—the Whites, the Comerfords,

the Walshes, the Wadings, the Dormers, the Shees, the Garveys, the Butlers, the Archers, the Stronges, the Lombards ; men distinguished by talents and learning, who early in life committed themselves to his training. Under this man, as my teacher, I worked in the same school while still a little boy ; a man to whom I am bound by such strong ties of duty, or rather of affection, that I know not how I could repay him, seeing that I am unable even to reckon up in numbers the countless services which he rendered to me.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE PALE.

Qui in Anglica provincia habitant, ab Hibernis, victu, cultu, & sermone differunt. Nam a pristinis Anglorum moribus, ne transuersum quidem vnguem discedunt. Anglice item naturaliter loquuntur. Nullo alio cottidiano sermone animi sensa exprimunt. Quamuis vero a noua hac, & nimis peregrina magniloquentia, ex gentium exterarum linguis furacissime collecta, longius absunt : tamen incorruptam Anglicae linguae vetustatem seruant, illam nimirum, quam Chauncerus vetus ac nobilis Poëta, & Anglorum sine dubio Homerus, in suis scriptis vsurpauit : qui ita Anglice dixit, vt non ipsam Angliam magis crederes esse Anglicam. Nihil in illius libris lectori occurret, quod sputatilicam (hoc enim verbum iam olim, nec sine caussa, ille Romanus risit) nouitatem redolet : ex alienis linguis verba non mutuatur, quemadmodum solent ætate nostra, illi verborum opifices, qui Anglice vel tum maxime colloqui se putant, cum etiam minime Anglice dicant.—(P. 28.)

The inhabitants of the English provinces differ from the Irish in the matters of food, dress, and language.

For they depart not even the breadth of a finger-nail from the primitive manners of the English. They also speak English as their native tongue. In no other language in their daily use do they express their ideas. While indeed they are very far removed from the novel and too far-fetched magniloquence of the present age, which is plagiarised from the languages of foreign nations, they preserve undefiled the ancient character of the English language, that, to wit, which Chaucer, an ancient and noble poet—unquestionably the English Homer—employed in his writings; who so used the English language that England itself could not be thought more English than he. The reader will meet with nothing in his books which savours of the ‘spuable’ (for the great Roman ridiculed this word, not without cause) novelty: he does not borrow words from foreign tongues, as do those fabricators of words of our day who think they speak English best when what they speak is English least of all.

PREVAILING ERRORS AS TO THE IRISH OUTSIDE
THE PALE.

At de Anglicæ prouinciæ habitatoribus satis explicatum arbitror, reliquum est ut de Hibernicorum moribus atque consuetudine nonnihil exponam. Vehemens quædam et peruagata opinio per animos multorum pervadere solet, Hibernicos istos, ad quos jam orationem conuertimus, omnem humanitatem abicere, fusos per densissimas siluas ac dispersos vagari, denique ferina quadam immanitate effrænatos vitam horridam incultamque viuere. Sed qui illos his

conuiciis infamant, a mendacio contra verum perspicue stant.—(P. 31.)

But enough has, in my opinion, been set forth as regards the inhabitants of the English province: it remains for me to give some explanation of the manners and customs of the mere Irish (*Hibernicorum*). A strong and widespread belief commonly pervades the minds of many that the Irish of whom we now speak are devoid of any civilization, and wander at large, scattered throughout the densest forests; in short, that with the unbridled savageness of wild beasts they lead a rude and uncivilized life. But those who defame them with such abuse manifestly side with falsehood against truth.

DWELLINGS OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS.

Hi igitur principes (semper excipio O Nelum, qui in Vltonia dominatur, nam is, quoniam est grauis aduersarius Britannici imperij, in fœniculariis campis statiuâ plerumque habet) castella possident, munitione ac mole lapidum fortiter exstructa, cum quibus aulæ satis magnæ & amplæ, ex argilla & luto fictæ factæque, vicina adhæsione copulantur. Non sunt sartæ tectæ aut saxorum laminis e lapidicina erutis, aut cæmentis, aut tegulis, sed agrariis culmis vt plurimum conteguntur. In istis aulis epulari solent: raro tamen somnium, nisi in castellis capiunt: quoniam aularum integumentis hostes possunt ardentes faces, aëris flabello ventilatas, facillime admouere, quandoquidem ista materies ignem perceleriter concipit.—(P. 32.)

So these chieftains—I always except O'Neill, who rules in Ulster, for he, because he is a bitter opponent of British rule, keeps his camp for the most part in fields of herbage [*lit.* fennel: cf. *in fœniculariis campis*, Cic.]—own castles, strongly constructed, as regards fortification, and mass of stone-work, with which are united, by a close connexion, fairly large and spacious halls, constructed of a compound of potter's earth and mud. These are not securely roofed either with quarried slates, or with rough-hewn stones or tiles, but are as a rule thatched with straw from the fields. In these halls they usually take their meals; they seldom, however, sleep except in the castles, because it is possible for their enemies with great ease to apply to the covering of the halls blazing torches, inflamed by the fanning of the wind, since that kind of stuff takes fire very rapidly.

STUDY OF LATIN.

Latinae linguæ intelligentiam, ex grammaticorum fontibus non hauriunt. Totum illud, tamquam luteum negotium, ac pueriles tricas, aspernantur. Quodcumque in solum, vt dicitur, venerit, effutire solent. Verba grammaticorum arte non expendunt; syllabarum pondera non examinant; omnem periodum spiritus voluntate, non artis iudicio determinant. Neque sane mirum. Istud enim aedificium male materiatur, & ruinosum esse oportet; prius, cui, quam iacta sunt fundamenta, fastigium imponere insipienter conaris.—(P. 37.)

They do not derive their knowledge of Latin from the sources of the grammarian. All that they contemn,

as a sorry affair, and puerile trifling. Whatever "comes uppermost," as the phrase is, they will prattle. They do not weigh their words with the skill of grammarians. They do not scan the quantities of syllables ; they regulate the length of each sentence by volubility of deliverance, not by artistic discernment. Nor is this much to be wondered at, for a building must needs be badly constructed and going to ruin, upon which you were foolish enough to try to place the upper portion before the foundations were laid.

CUSTOMS AT MEALS.

In epulis accumbunt, lectulis positus, primus in mensa locus tribuitur matrifamilias, talari tunica, & saepe crocota, bene manicata, amictae : mirum inter vtrumque coniugem, inspectante populo, silentium : sola eorum familiaritas cubicularis. Inter cenandum adest citharista, oculis saepe captus, musicis minime eruditus, qui chordarum pulsu (sunt autem ex ferreis aut aeneis filis, non ex nervis vt alibi fit, contextae) animos accumbentium relaxat. Non plectro aliquo, sed aduncis vnguibus sonum elicit.—(P. 38.)

At their meals they recline, couches being supplied. The first place at table is that of the mother of the family, wrapped in a tunic reaching to the ankles, often saffron-coloured, and long-sleeved. Wonderful silence is kept between husband and wife while the common people are looking on ; their familiar intercourse is only in their private rooms. While they dine, a harper is present—often blind—with little skill in music, who

cheers up their spirits as they recline beside him, by striking the chords : these, indeed, are composed of iron or brazen threads, not of harp-strings, as is the case elsewhere. They bring out the sound, not by means of any kind of quill, but with their hooked nails.

RESPECT PAID TO LEARNING.

Nefas esse arbitrantur, vel teruncium de sacerdotis bonis, in ulla direptione, attingere, multo magis exsecrantur, eorum corpora vulnerare. Idem honor rhythmicis tribuitur, quorum ingeniis subiectam vitam, famamque habent. Nam vt reliqua omnia æquissimo animo ferant, qui illud infamiæ frænum mordeant, non inueniunt. Nec sacerdotes & rhythmici solum, sed omnes etiam, litteris tincti, sunt in laude & gratia apud illos. Item ipsa optimarum artium cognitio est in honore maximo. Atque vt veteres se, nullo modo, sapientes volebant nominari, sed philosophos, qui sapientiam expeterent, eiusque decretis parerent; ad eundem modum, Hibernici, etiamsi hominem omnium litteratissimum, ad caelum laudibus efferre studeant, eum nunquam virum doctum, sed bonum doctrinæ filium appellant. . . . Sed non vagabitur oratio mea longius: ad Hibernicos redeo, quorum mores satis, vt arbitror, enucleate illustraui. Quod autem quorundam sermo increbuit, eos passim in siluis, inter feras, ætatem degere, fænumque, instar pecudum, esse; id tam abest a vero, vt nihil magis vero esse possit contrarium. Sed ductum & conflatum hinc mendacium istud existimo, propter nonnullos exleges, omnibus flagitiorum maculis notatissimos.—(P. 49.)

They regard it as a sacrilegious crime to touch, when engaged in pillaging, the smallest coin, the property of

a priest; much more severely do they execrate an injury to their persons. The same honour is paid to the bards, at the mercy of whose powers they hold their lives and reputations. For though they might endure anything else with the utmost equanimity, they are incapable of braving the lash of opprobrium. Nor is it only priests and bards who are held in honour and favour among them, but all others who are versed in literature. In like manner even an acquaintance with liberal arts is held in the highest honour. And as the ancients were by no means desirous of being called wise, but philosophical men, who sought out wisdom and obeyed her mandates, similarly the Irish, while zealous in exalting to the skies by their laudation the most learned man, never call him a learned man, but a dutiful "son of learning." . . . But my discourse shall no longer ramble. I come back to the [mere] Irish, whose customs I have, I think, explained with sufficient clearness. But as to the report that has been noised abroad by some, that they pass their lives scattered through forests among wild beasts, and eat hay like cattle; this is so far removed from truth, that nothing could possibly be more opposed to truth. I believe, however, that this falsehood is hence derived and brought about:—by reason of some outlaws, who are most notorious for every possible stain of disgrace.

PART III.

DWELLINGS OF THE CHIEFTAINS AND UPPER
CLASSES IN CELTIC IRELAND.

IN estimating the degree of civilization existing among any class of society, regard should be had to the character of their dwellings. The difficulty of realizing the conditions of life among the upper classes in Celtic Ireland during the period which was brought to a close by the wars of Elizabeth's reign has been greatly increased by the prevailing misunderstanding on this subject—a misunderstanding to which the vigorous Latin of Stanyhurst might fairly be applied. The principal cause of this misunderstanding has been pointed out in the *Address*. It is largely due to the indiscriminate application to all classes in Celtic Ireland of descriptions of the condition to which the lowest dregs of the population had been reduced by incessant warfare, taken from writers whose knowledge of Ireland is of comparatively late date; who took no interest in historical or antiquarian research; and in whose eyes a state of society differing from that to which they were accustomed was, even when at its best, simple barbarism.

It is much to be regretted, in the interests of historical truth, that currency has been given to the prevailing misconception on this subject by a great master of style, whose works are read wherever the English language is studied.

Mr. Froude, in the preliminary chapter of his *English in Ireland*, wrote of the Irish clans and chieftains, outside the limit of the Pale: "Their private habits

were wild as their occupations were lawless." They were a people "whose ways of life, and whose notions of the objects for which life was given them, were the ways and notions of savages." This conclusion he draws from the "monotonous series of murders and destruction" which fill the pages of the old annals; from the herding together of cattle and human beings within the precincts of a castle in time of war; from what Spenser wrote in 1598 of the emancipation of Irish women in his time, "in striking contrast with the Irish of later experience"; and from a story which, with characteristic regard of literary accuracy, he gives to the world upon the authority of Fynes Moryson.

"If Fynes Moryson may be believed, the daughters of distinguished Ulster chiefs squatted on the pavement round the hall fires of their fathers' castles, in the presence of strangers, as bare of clothing as if Adam had never sinned."

I have seldom come across a passage, even in an affidavit, more calculated to mislead. Fynes Moryson, who, according to Mr. Sidney Lee, is "a sober and truthful writer," never made himself responsible for the truth of the statement which I have quoted. He gave it on the authority of a Bohemian Baron, "coming out of Scotland to us, by the North part of the wild Irish," who told him, "in great earnestness," of what he beheld in the house of "Ocane, a great lord among them." Neither the Baron nor Fynes Moryson pretends to speak generally with regard to "distinguished Ulster chiefs." Even if they had, the condition of Ulster, wasted and reduced to semi-barbarism by the ravages of the wars in which Fynes Moryson was engaged, was widely different from that of Celtic Ireland generally,

even at the date at which he became acquainted with it.

And yet, on the strength of this story, or rather of Mr. Froude's perversion of it, it has gone forth to the world that the habits of the upper classes in Celtic Ireland, when Elizabeth came to the throne, were those of savages, living half naked in hovels of mud and wattles, in the company of the beasts of the field, and yet, curiously enough, able to entertain a travelling Bohemian Baron with conversation in the Latin tongue.

Fynes Moryson does, indeed, speak from personal experience of a startling scantiness of apparel amongst the very "chief of the Irish," inhabiting the remote parts, "where the English Lawes and manners are unknown." His personal experience was that of a soldier engaged in warfare, carried on in the manner described by Mr. Lecky in the opening chapters of his *History*; and there is no more reason to doubt his description of what he actually saw than to question Spenser's account of the miserable condition of Munster after the Desmond wars. Moryson's description of the "wild and (as I may say) meere Irish" corresponds pretty nearly with Stanyhurst's estimate of the *exleges*, whose barbarous condition was, he complains, erroneously supposed to be that of the inhabitants of Celtic Ireland generally.

As to the story told by the Baron, with a gravity which impressed Moryson, it may easily have had a foundation in fact. The wanderings of Cuellar have been referred to in the *Address*. O'Cahan, chief of his name, "whom they called Prince Ocan," lived in a castle which Cuellar failed to reach. In the course of his wanderings he

and would not eat, and said I was taking from them their good customs, wherein they had been brought up."

Mr. Westropp's notes on the castles in the counties of Limerick and Clare are to be found in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. A monograph by this writer on the ancient dwellings of the Irish chieftains, illustrated (as some of his notes are) by engravings, would throw much light on the conditions of life among the upper classes of Celtic Ireland. Mr. Westropp noted more than four hundred ancient castles in the county of Limerick alone. To the great house of Desmond the erection of many of these castles is attributed, some of which were afterwards acquired by the native chieftains. This process of conquest took place in other counties; for example, Dunamase, the castle of O'More, though of Celtic foundation, was for some time an Anglo-Norman stronghold. But the greater number of the ancient castles of Celtic Ireland were of native origin. Mr. Cooke, whose edition of Wakeman's *Antiquities* I have already quoted, writes of a part only of a single county, Clare: "Castles are dotted all over the country. . . . Remains of fifty castles of the MacNamaras exist in the Upper and Lower Baronies of Bunratty." (*Murray's Handbook for Ireland*.)

The fortresses of the greater chieftains were of considerable dimensions. I have already referred to the castles of Ross and Blarney. The ruins of Ballintubber, the fortress of O'Connor, are even more extensive. If Dr. Mahaffy had devoted to Elizabethan Ireland the powers of investigation and exposition which have enabled his readers to realize the social life of Ancient

Greece, we should not have read in the lecture to which I have referred the following passage: "The fact is that the daily life and habits of almost all the Irish chieftains were quite barbarous. Instead of living in such mansions or manorhouses as noblemen and gentlemen possessed under the Tudors, the O'Neills, O'Moores, O'Cahans, etc., lived in shanties where even rafters were exceptional. They were made of mud and wattles, the cattle and swine occupying the same rooms with the masters."

PART IV.

SPEECHES AT THE PROROGATION OF THE
PARLIAMENT OF 1570.

THE day of prorogation* when the Knights and Burgesses of the Comynalty resorted to the Lordes of the upper house, much good matter was there uttered betweene the Deputy and the Speaker, whereof coming home to my lodging I tooke notes, and here I will deliver them, as neere as I can call them to minde, in the same words and sentences that I heard them. First, the Speaker *James Stanihurst*, an Esquire of worship, Recorder of Divelin, and for the Citty Burgesse at that present, began thus.

Rather of custome and dutyfull humility, then for doubt of your honourable disposition (so well knowne to us all, and to every of us in private, that it little needeth my praise), we are to request your Lordship in the behalfe of our selves, and our cuntryes, whom we represent in this Parliament, to accept our service and endeavour in driving these conclusions, where by to the uttermost of our skill we have intended without injury, the Crowne to enrich, treasons to chastise, to better the state, traffique to further, learning to cherish, and in brieft, to maintaine with our best advice those benefits, which the Prince hath inferred upon this Realme by you, and you with your sword and wisdom have performed. An ordinary suite it is, in the end of such assemblies to crave executions of law, for it sufficeth not, to keepe a

* 12 Decembris, 1570.

statute *tanquam inclusum in tabulis*, as a thing shut up in parchment rolles, but law must speake and walke abroad, to the comfort and behoofe of good subjects : Otherwise, vve shall resemble the folly of him, that once in every hour saluted his gold, never using it, but onely bad it lye still and couch. Of the necessity thereof, I cannot say so much as your Lordship conceiveth, and I desire not to discourse a matter generally felt and confessed. In particular the zeale which I have to the reformation of this Realme, and to breede in the rudest of our people, resolute English hearts, moveth me to pray your Lordships helping hand for the practice, namely of one statute which is for the erecting of Grammer Schooles, within every diocese, the stipends to be levied in such proportion, as in the late act hath bene devised, whereunto the royall assent is already granted, and yet the point in no forwardness, nor in none is like to be, except by some good meanes, the onset be given and freshly followed, surely might one generation sippe a little of this liquor, and so bee induced to long for more, both our countrymen that live obeysant, would ensue with a courage the frutes of peace, whereby good learning is supported and our unquiet neighbours would finde such sweetness in the taste thereof, as it should bee a ready way to reclaim them. In mine experience, who have not yet seene much more than forty yeares, I am able to say that our Realme is at this day an halfe deale more civill then it was, since noble men and worshipfull, with others of ability, have used to send their sonnes into England to the Law, Vniversities, or to Schooles. Now, when the same Schooles shall bee brought home to their doores, that all that will may repaire unto them, I doubt not, considering the numbers

brought up beyond the seas, and the good already done in those few places, where learning is professed, but this addition discreetly made, will foster a young frye, likely to prove good members of this common wealth, and desirous to traine their children the same way. Neither were it a small helpe to the assurance of the Crowne of England, when Babes from their Craddles should be inured under learned Schoole-masters, with a pure English tongue, habite, fashion, discipline; and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken borderers, who possibly might be wonne by this example, or at the least wise loose the opportunity, which novv they have, to infect others: And seeing our hap is not yet, to plant a University here at home, which attempt can never bee remembred without thanks to your good Lordship for your bountifull offer, me seemeth it is the more expedient to enter so farre forth as our commission reacheth and to hope for the rest: I have said enough, especially to a learned governour, to whom an inckling were sufficient in such a plausible and needful motion. It resteth that wee pray your Lordship to folde up whatsoever squarings or diversities of Iudgements, wise men have heere uttered in our often meetings, and by the sequele of all our doings to measure the good meaning of every severall person.

When the Speaker had done, the Deputy, having a rich and plentifull kinde of utterance, meere naturall, but not without judgement, answered at length, as he that knew no end of his good, the points whereof, as I can remember, were these.

In good faith, M. Speaker, I cannot lesse doe, but recorde and testifie the readiness, travaile and good service of you all, and namely of your selfe, who in the

whole course of this Parliament, and now lastly in this charitable request for the trayning your youth, have confirmed the opinion which my selfe and the generall voyce long since retained of your rare vertues, devotion, wisdom, learning, and modestie, so as the case cannot be misdoubted that is preferred by such a Proctor, the substance whereof toucheth you my Lords spirituall and temporall, and you the knights and worshipfull of every Shire, to you belongeth the quickening of this godly statute, which heere againe I recommend unto you, and will not let to enquire after your diligence therein from time to time, and the most effectuall order that may be for this purpose, shall assuredly be taken in place convenient. Shew your selves forvvard and franke in advancing the honour, wealth, ease and credit of your cuntryes, envy not to your posterity the same path that your selves have troden, and namely you that flourish at this day in the light and eye of your commonwealth. Had your opinions matched with mine, concerning the Vniversity which M. Speaker remembreth, no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have bin a spurre to these erections, as nurses for babes to suck in, till they might repaire thither to be wained: But I trust your consents therein are only suspended for a time, and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate: What though certaine imperfections cannot as yet be salved? What though the summe arise not to make a muster of Colledges at the first day? What though the place be not also commodious? What though other circumstances inferre a feeble and rawe foundation? These are indeede objections of the multitude, whose backwardnesse breedeth an unnecessary stoppe in this our purpose. But your wisdomes can

easily consider that time must ripen a weake beginning, that other Vniversities began with lesse, that all experience telleth us so, shall wee be so curious or so testy that nothing will please us, but all in all, all absolute, all excellent, all furnished, all beautified, all fortified in the prime and infancie thereof. I remember a tale of *Apuleius* asse, who being indifferently placed betweene two bottles of haye, because he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both. Let us not so doe, but content our selves by little and little to bee fedde as the case requireth. The rest of your Bills debated and passed by your wisdomes in this Parliament, I must confesse, they are as you say, beneficiall to the Queene my Mistris, and to her Crowne, but how? Verily as the Husband-man soweth his seede, and reaph much more than he laide downe, so whatsoever this benefite amounteth unto, it returneth to your selves in a circle, heere it groweth, heere it is eaten, heere it multiplyeth, here it is spent, they have their due, the Prince is bettered, you are quieted, Iustice executed, malefactours terrified. Were they never so deare collopps of your owne flesh and bloud, I see not how you could either have coloured their offence, or qualified their punishment, the one so notorious, that it cannot be dissembled, the other so ordinary, that course of law prescribeth it. Therefore as you have well done, so you have done but your duties, allowed an inch to receive an ell, abridged your owne foes, avenged your owne injuries, condemned your owne oppressors. And yet this duty being on your parts, so cheerfully and painfully, so lovingly and advisedly performed, deserveth great thanks, and shall finde it too, If I bee the man, either in office able to consider you, or out of office in

place to friend you. I am to depart into England shortly, lay your heads together, and article the points, whereby this Realme may be furthered, use mee either as a mouth to speake for you, or an eye to direct you, or as a hand to under-prop you, *aut consilio aut auxilio*. Besides, the generall vvich I ought to have for you all, as your governour, and yoked together under one obedience, English blouds, and English hearts, I am linked to you as to my continuall acquaintance these many yeares, hither I came in my spring, heere I have spent my summer, I returne in the fall of the leafe, now is the time, intimate your defects in demaunds, or what else soever may content you, and see whether I will tender your common-wealth. . . .

Therefore to conclude where I began, weigh well the sicke and wounded parts of your common-wealth, cure the roote, regard the foundation, the principall pillars, the summer posts, the stone walles, as for the roofe and the tyles, if yee repaire them onely, and suffer the ground worke to perish, a tempest of weather, a flovve will shake your building. Of some such good and substantiall reformation I would advise you friendly to consult, and you shall finde me as willing to preferre the generall welfare of you all, as I have beene desirous to benefit every singular person of you, that hath in any lawfull suite attempted me.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings.

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W. B. K.

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